

Begin clamps lid on marines incident

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Menachem Begin wants the much publicized quarrel between Israel and the U.S. to die quickly and quietly. The premier told the cabinet yesterday that he does not propose to issue any official statement or to write a letter to President Ronald Reagan — as some ministers suggested — since that would exacerbate the tension.

Before the cabinet meeting, senior officials said that Israel had demanded "an apology" from the U.S. But now, in view of the prime minister's firm guidelines, this demand seems effectively to have been dropped.

Sources close to Begin stressed yesterday, however, that whether the tension would die down or not "depends on the Americans."

It was perfectly clear, these sources said, that the IDF had been within its rights in conducting the patrol near Beirut which had led to the clash last week with the U.S. Marines of the multi-national force. The State Department in

Washington had impliedly recognized that.

As for the political fallout, the sources accused Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger of leading a "deliberate and tendentious" effort on the part of the administration to blow up the affair.

The cabinet had been united, the sources said in criticizing and resenting this U.S. behaviour, which was seen as "indicating a trend...a desire to besmirch our image...to buy Arab favour with Jewish shame."

But Begin ruled against those ministers who urged that Israel publicly join battle with Weinberger and the others in Washington who had expanded and exploited the incident. That would only be playing into their hands, the premier pointed out.

Begin and other ministers ex-coriated the reports in yesterday's Israeli news media, which had cited Israeli military sources to the effect that the U.S. Marine captain involved in last week's incident had been drunk.

U.S. thinks Israel was looking for trouble

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan administration reacted as sharply as it did to last week's incident involving a U.S. marine and an Israeli tank commander in Beirut partly because the Pentagon strongly suspected that Israel was deliberately seeking to provoke Washington.

According to well-placed administration officials, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and other Pentagon officers privately cited three factors in defending their assessment that the incident, during which the marine actually drew his pistol, was no accident.

• The Israeli tank commander, identified only as a Lieutenant Colonel Rafi, had been involved in two earlier confrontations with U.S. Marines in Beirut.

• A routine Israeli patrol would not have been led by a Lieutenant Colonel, but rather by a more junior officer.

• It was the sixth incident involving U.S. and Israeli soldiers — all of which, the Americans said, fit into a similar pattern of Israeli "probing" of U.S. lines.

Those reasons, the officials said, were largely responsible for President Ronald Reagan's defence of the U.S. Marine's behaviour at a

White House news conference last Friday. From Reagan on down, Senior U.S. officials still believe Israel was responsible for the incidents. They have refused to accept Israel's official explanations.

Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arens, in his conversations with State Department officials, has strongly argued that these incidents are likely to recur so long as Washington bars direct contact between the Marines and Israeli troops. Close U.S. - Israeli military cooperation and coordination in Lebanon, Arens has said, is absolutely essential.

But the administration has feared that any direct U.S.-Israeli military cooperation in Lebanon would merely reinforce the impression in the Arab world that Washington not only supported Israel's aims in Lebanon but was actually involved in promoting them. Washington has been very anxious to disabuse the Arabs of any such thoughts.

Thus, U.S. officials yesterday expressed doubt that the standing orders to the marines against dealing directly with their Israeli counterparts would change in the foreseeable future. The marines are not permitted to fraternize with the Israeli troops during free time.

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Tank officer stopped by marine is hurt

By Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Sgan-Aluf (Lt. Colonel) Rafi, the IDF tank commander who was turned back by pistol-waving Marine Captain Charles Johnson last week, narrowly escaped serious injury yesterday when the jeep he was driving became the target of a sabotage attempt near Beirut.

Rafi was slightly grazed when two explosive charges were detonated from afar near the Shueifat quarter of Beirut.

The incident occurred shortly

after 8 a.m. yesterday. The IDF spokesman said yesterday that "the tracks of those who detonated the charges led westward in the direction of the area under the control of the multinational force."

An IDF source said last night, "The fact that Sgan-Aluf Rafi was the target of a sabotage attempt and his recent fracas with the marines is absolutely coincidental."

Military observers said an increase in terror incidents was assumed highly probable.

Dudein leaves for U.S.

TEL AVIV. — Mustafa Dudein, head of the village leagues in the West Bank, left yesterday on a visit to the U.S. that has been postponed several times because U.S. officials have refused to meet him.

Dudein said he hoped to talk with senators and congressmen about mobilizing aid for village development projects and improving the conditions of West Bank Palestinians. He will stay in the U.S. for about two weeks and will also try to convince Americans that the people he represents support President Reagan's peace plan.

PLO demands too high, says Kreisky

NEW YORK (AP). — Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky yesterday said he regretted the publication of his suggestion to exchange prisoners between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The PLO demands for a prisoner exchange are too high, he said.

On a visit in New York after his political talks in Washington, Kreisky told reporters he hoped the plan would still be realized despite its publication.

Professor says Nazi was informer for Americans 'Barbie used U.S. salary to reach Bolivia'

NEW YORK. — Klaus Barbie, the Nazi "Butcher of Lyon," was a paid informant of the U.S. government after World War II, a former counter-intelligence officer said in an interview broadcast Saturday.

Edward Dabringhaus said on the NBC Nightly News that money paid by the U.S. government to Barbie for information on the Nazis financed Barbie's flight to asylum in Bolivia.

Dabringhaus said he had been under orders not to let anyone know that the U.S. was aware of Barbie's whereabouts, and that he was a U.S. intelligence officer in Germany and worked with Barbie.

The Bolivian government expelled Barbie on Saturday and sent him to France to stand trial for the murders of thousands of Jews and resistance fighters. Barbie, 69, was put in prison and indicted for "crimes against humanity," involv-

ing more than 11,000 deaths. Dabringhaus, a professor at Wayne State University in Detroit, said Barbie "was primarily fighting the underground in France."

"He caught hundreds of them, and if they didn't talk or cooperate with him, he would string them up by their thumbs in the basement until they were dead," he said there is a mass grave outside his headquarters that must have 200 people in it.

Twice, Dabringhaus said, French intelligence agents asked him if the U.S. knew where Barbie was.

"They had heard that we knew something about him and I was ordered by my own headquarters not to say anything, that we knew nothing about him."

A former French Resistance leader accused American forces in Germany of protecting Barbie after World War II.



Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, left, is greeted by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn yesterday. (UPI telephoto)

Shamir meets Genscher

BONN. — Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said after meeting with his West German counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, yesterday that he hoped the German presidency of the European Economic Community will contribute to improving relations between Jerusalem and the EEC.

Shamir arrived here in the afternoon on the first leg of a tour which will also take him to Luxembourg and Brussels.

Shamir also said he was pleased with the declared policy of the new government in Bonn to avoid separate European initiatives in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In an interview with *Bild Am Son-*

ntag, Shamir said he did not intend to meddle in West German affairs, a reference to accusations that recent trips by Soviet and U.S. leaders have been aimed at influencing the result of the country's general election.

While in Bonn, Shamir is due to meet President Karl Carstens, Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss and leading opposition Social Democratic politician Egon Bahr.

In his interview in *Bild Am Sonntag*, Shamir called on West Germans "to do everything to nip anti-Semitism in the bud whenever it breaks out again." (JTA, Reuters).

Druse 'liberate' Alep

BEIRUT (AP). — Druse militiamen announced in a late-night communique they have overrun all Christian positions in the western section of Alep, declaring the "liberation" of the entire strategic town that sits on the highway linking Beirut with Damascus.

The communique issued by the Druse Socialist Progressive Party said the main Christian Phalange Party headquarters in Alep was set afire and Christian militiamen fled

the town leaving behind 25 combatants dead.

Phalange Party indirectly conceded defeat in Alep, saying over the Phalangist Voice of Lebanon radio station their fighters pulled out of Alep as "Socialists burnt and looted houses in neighbourhoods" in Alep.

The announcement from the two sides, indicates the Druse had scored a significant triumph in the two-month-old sectarian war in the Israeli-occupied central mountains.

Hospital MDs agree to postpone strike

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Top-level Israel Medical Association representatives yesterday expressed satisfaction after a meeting with Health Minister Eliezer Shostak on the doctors' demands for higher wages.

"We got the impression that the minister understands our position and is willing to help by taking our case to the prime minister and the cabinet," Dr. Ram Ishai, chairman of the IMA, told *The Jerusalem Post* after the 90-minute meeting.

But the ministry was willing to only say that Shostak had "listened" to the doctors. Shostak is scheduled to appear before the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee this morning to discuss the "growing crisis" in government hospitals, which the hospital doctors describe as "dangerously overcrowded and short-staffed."

Sharon: We didn't blow up PLO centre

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said yesterday that Israel had nothing to do with the blowing up of the Palestinian Research Centre in Beirut on Saturday.

Queried at yesterday's cabinet

meeting, Sharon categorically denied any Israeli involvement and noted with apparent approval Lebanese news media assessments that Syrian intelligence had been responsible for the car bomb blast.

Two Israelis injured in Sidon attack
Two members of the defence forces were hurt yesterday when small-arms fire was directed at their vehicle in Sidon, Southern Lebanon, yesterday evening. They were taken to a hospital.

Special status for South if talks fail

Sharon: Syrian shelling is Jemayel's problem

By ASHER WALLFISH
and HIRSH GOODMAN

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's mounting irritation with the Christian Phalange leaders came out in the cabinet at yesterday's weekly session, when a minister asked why the IDF should not try to halt the shelling of East Beirut, which has caused considerable casualties.

Sharon gave one more signal of his disappointment that President Amin Jemayel is not keeping the commitments on peace and normalization with Israel which Jemayel's aides purportedly gave the defence minister in December.

He replied to Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i that the president could use his good relations with Syria to halt the shelling.

Sharon said the IDF would react forthwith if one of its own positions were shelled, but said East Beirut is a different matter. There is no reason why Israel should interfere in a matter which lay between Lebanon and Syria, he said.

Sharon said there is no reason why the IDF should attack the Syrians merely because Druse artillery batteries are firing from a Syrian-controlled area.

Security in East Beirut became Jemayel's responsibility, Sharon said, once he sent the Lebanese Army to take control there. Israel sympathizes with the unfortunate Christian victims, he said, but cannot intervene merely because of that.

In reply to another question, the defence minister denied that he had

ever warned Christian leaders of the consequences of their bowing to Saudi and Syrian pressure, with regard to the negotiations with Israel. These warnings were described in detail in all press reports of last Sunday's cabinet session.

Previous signals to Jemayel, of Sharon's irritation over the snail's pace negotiations, were his warning of a unilateral IDF pullback from the Shouf Mountains, and his go-ahead to southern militia leader Maj. Sa'ad Haddad to expand his forces. Publicity was also given to the visit to Haddad of Jemayel's rival, Danny Chamoun.

One analysis put to *The Jerusalem Post* by an informed Knesset Member last week was that Sharon planned to enhance the legitimacy of the southern militias, by showing Jemayel's inability to settle the strife around Beirut and in the Shouf which increased after Sharon's warning of an IDF pullback.

It is almost 22 months since the IDF was ordered to shoot down Syrian helicopters attacking Phalange positions — the government's first intervention between the two countries.

For the past four months, however, the defence establishment has been working on an alternate plan for the future of Lebanon on the assumption that the current peace talks might fail.

The idea is understood to have been raised by Sharon in December, indicating already then that contingency preparations were under way. This included a future role for Haddad.

Under the plan in the event of

negotiations failing, a special status would be given to the South, where, it was predicted, a coalition of forces could be made to work together.

Defence Ministry sources last night reiterated to *The Post* that Israel will take all the steps necessary to insure security for the Galilee and to prevent the return of the terrorists, "even if this means a *de facto* division of Lebanon into spheres of influence."

Observers last night were convinced that the overt gestures being made by Israel to Haddad as the leader of an independent South Lebanese entity closely aligned with Israel were not a negotiating tactic only. "The moves in the South to consolidate indigenous support for Haddad are real, and will be used in the event that the negotiations fail."

The population of Southern Lebanon is only 10 to 12 per cent Christian, and at present Israel is trying to develop a *modus vivendi* between the Christian population and the Shi'ites who comprise 60 per cent of the population. The Shia military organization Amal and Haddad's militias have tense relations. There is also tension between the Druse community (about 10 per cent of the population) and the Sunnis (20 per cent) and Haddad.

Israeli attempts to form a cohesive, pro-Israeli bulwark against terrorism in the South have been complicated and protracted. The Amal group has close allegiance to members of the movement in the north, while the Druse-Phalange conflict in the Shouf Mountains has spilled over into the South as well, though it is under the surface at present.

Phalange radio says Israel backs Druse in Shouf clash

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter

The rift that has been emerging in recent weeks between Israel and its Phalange allies widened further yesterday, with the Phalange-run Radio Free Lebanon for the first time openly accusing Israel of supporting the Druse in the on-going Christian-Druse clashes in the Shouf mountains.

"Israeli forces are preventing our forces from confronting attacks mounted against us by Druse socialists in Alep," the radio charged in a sharp departure from the consistently pro-Israel line it has taken ever since last June's invasion.

The radio accused Israel of allow-

ing the Druse to operate from behind its lines, and of undermining the cease-fire arranged last Friday to prevent the fighting from spreading to Beirut. (Lebanese police are quoted as saying that at least four people were killed yesterday in renewed Christian-Druse clashes in Alep, Souk al-Gharb and Aitah southeast of Beirut.)

The Phalange are reported to have been complaining to Israel in private for some time about what they view as Israel's "lenient" attitude to the Druse in central Lebanon. This, they have been claiming, has been in a bid to pacify the Druse in Israel, who have been lobbying intensively on behalf of their co-religionists in Lebanon.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

S. Lebanese group for peace treaty

By MENACHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ROSH HANIKRA. — Some 800 residents of the 40-kilometre strip north of Israel, meeting in the village of Kileila, south of Tyre, yesterday founded the Organization of Residents of South Lebanon and called for a peace treaty with the Jewish state.

Head of the group is Shawik Abdullah, a businessman from the village of El Khiam.

Among other demands and declarations published by the group were the following:

- A demand that Israel allow all those who fled from their homes in the area during the war to return.
- A demand that all prisoners in the Ansar camp who have been

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

	6.2.83	MIN.	MAX.	
	C	F	C	F
AMSTERDAM	1	34	5	41
BRUSSELS	1	30	3	37
BUEENOS AIRES	20	68	21	69
CHICAGO	18	6	4	28
COPENHAGEN	1	30	1	34
FRANKFURT	1	34	1	34
GENEVA	5	22	8	43
Helsinki	9	16	3	27
HONG KONG	14	57	15	59
JOHANNESBURG	15	59	28	82
LONDON	4	39	15	59
LONDON	4	39	6	43
MADRID	1	34	14	57
MONTREAL	7	19	2	37
NEW YORK	6	21	0	32
OSLO	Unavailable			
PARIS	2	36	8	46
RIO DE JANEIRO	20	68	21	69
SAO PAULO	19	66	27	81
STOCKHOLM	0	32	12	50
TOKYO	2	36	15	59
YOKOHAMA	1	34	4	39
ZURICH	5	22	6	43

For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.

THE WEATHER

Forecast: In the morning rain will continue — the skies will clear partially in the afternoon

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	97	3-5	7
Golan	97	3-5	7
Nahariya	77	6-13	14
Safad	77	3-5	5
Hafsa Port	86	8-16	16
Tiberias	86	6-10	9
Nazareth	96	6-10	9
Afula	92	8-13	14
Shomron	70	6-9	10
Tel Aviv	53	8-14	15
B-G Airport	58	6-14	15
Jericho	43	7-18	17
Gaza	66	8-14	15
Beersheba	39	4-14	14
Eilat	26	8-19	19

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Prof. Ezra Zohar will speak today at the ladies night of Jerusalem Rotary West at 8 p.m. at the King David Hotel on "Government and Society."

Olshan funeral

Yitzhak Olshan, second president of Israel's Supreme Court, safeguarded the rule of law and the rights of the citizen in a country where there is no written constitution, Justice Minister Moshe Nissim said at Olshan's funeral yesterday.

Olshan, who died on Saturday, aged 87, was buried in the Sanhedria cemetery, Jerusalem.

The funeral was attended by Prime Minister Menachem Begin, the president of the Supreme Court Yitzhak Kahan, Supreme Court Justices, Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir, State Comptroller Yitzhak Tunkin and many public personalities including former defence minister Ezer Weizman.

Earlier, his coffin lay in state at the Supreme Court building, where President Yitzhak Navon paid his respects. There was an honour guard of Supreme Court judges.

PHALANGE

(Continued from Page One)

But yesterday's charge on Radio Free Lebanon is the first time the Phalange has openly accused Israel of supporting its Druse rivals, and would appear to reflect the growing tension in recent weeks between Israel and the Phalange.

This tension was highlighted at the end of last month in the sharp confrontation in Lebanon between Defence Minister Ariel Sharon and Phalange Party leader Pierre Jemayel.

Sharon is reported to have made it plain to Jemayel at that meeting that Israel is losing patience with the apparent unwillingness or inability of his son, President Amin Jemayel, to buck the anti-Israeli line being imposed upon him by Lebanese Moslems and their outside backers — mainly Syria, Saudi Arabia and the PLO.

Pierre Jemayel countered last week by accusing Israel of attempting to drive a wedge between Lebanon's Christian and Moslem communities with the aim of arriving at a *de facto* partition of the country that would leave Israel in effective control of the South.

Suspicion that Israel may, in fact, be contemplating abandoning the Phalange in favour of an alternative deal with its proven allies in the South was heightened by yesterday's meeting in South Lebanon to protest the policy of the central government in Beirut.

IT IS WRITTEN

"The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee... The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee, The city of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel."

— THE CREATOR
(Isaiah 60:13a & 14) passage to be read in relation with Israel's predicted Messianic role in coming world redemption, as described in part in Isa. 61 & 62.)
Bible Light International

HOME NEWS

Stolen treasures found behind fake wall

Five held for \$3m. museum heist

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hundreds of items stolen from the Ha'aretz Museum in a multi-million dollar robbery two years ago were discovered Saturday and yesterday. Five persons were arrested as police cracked one of the largest thefts ever in Tel Aviv.

Candelabras, tora books, scrolls, miniature holy arks, ancient Pessah dishes, silver ware, wine goblets and valuable folk costumes were among the hundreds of items police found behind a fake wall in a Tel Aviv apartment and in a flat in Ramat Gan. The apartment also held hundreds of new tennis rackets, sports shoes, track suits and two wireless walkie talkies, presumed to have been used by the suspects.

The folklore pavilion of Ha'aretz Museum was broken into on January 27, 1981, when burglars broke the bar on the back door which was not connected to the alarm system. Hundreds of items were stolen.

Among the objects stolen were phylacteries which had belonged to the son of Theodor Herzl. The stolen items were then valued at over \$3 million.

Breakthrough, in the two-year hunt for the haul came on Saturday morning when a police car on routine patrol in North Tel Aviv was sent to Yehuda

Hamacabi Street by police headquarters, who had been notified that two people were loading kitbags onto a red Autobianchi.

Police arrested a husband and wife, aged 33 and 28, after finding silverware and holy artefacts in three large kitbags in the car.

When the police entered the suspects' apartment, on Yehuda Hamacabi street, they found a double wall which had been presumably built to hide the stolen property. Pieces of the fake wall, which had apparently been broken down recently to take out the goods, were strewn on the floor. Behind the second wall, police found more items, as well as chemicals used for melting down metals.

After questioning the suspects, police arrested a friend of the woman, a 25-year-old education student, and her husband, a 27-year-old art student.

Yesterday, police searched a vacant apartment in Ramat Gan's Hama'agal Street, which belongs to the second couple. They found hundreds of other items stolen from the museum, plus the tennis rackets, tennis shoes and other stolen property. Police also found an oven for melting down metals.

Another suspect, a 31-year-old truck driver, also from Tel Aviv, was arrested yesterday. Additional arrests are expected.

Three held in murder of Dutch tourist

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Three men were remanded in custody at Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday charged with the murder of Dutch tourist Bob Soutine. Soutine's girlfriend, Hadassah Capach, 19, also appeared in court but she was only charged with dealing in stolen goods. The prosecution said she had no connection with the killing.

Charged with the murder were David Effinger, 19, Shlomo Sharon, 21 and Tamir Masholmi, 19. All are from Ganei Tikva.

A police representative told the

court that Soutine was shot at the hut where he and Capach lived. He said the murder was connected with the theft of electronic equipment from the Penguin night club in Yehuda Halevi Street, Tel Aviv. He said the three men were connected with the murder and with trading in stolen property.

The defendants' lawyer said they denied any connection with the murder or with stolen goods. Effinger and Sharon were remanded for 15 days, Masholmi for 10 days and Capach for six days.

Accused murderer is ejected from court

TEL AVIV (Itim). — One of the accused in the "Turkish connection" double murder trial was ejected from the court yesterday after he threw a packet of cigarettes at a state's witness.

Shmaya Angel was later readmitted, but he continued to curse the witness, Yisrael Yeshurun.

Angel, his wife Sara and Haim Shoshan are charged with killing Shulamit Sheli and Michel Nahmias last year. All were members of a gang which smuggled hashish from Turkey.

Yeshurun, once the Angels' right-

hand man in the gang, has turned state's witness. He claims Sheli and Nahmias were killed because their names were known to a drug courier who had been arrested at Ben-Gurion Airport and was cooperating with the police.

Yeshurun told the court yesterday how he tried to warn Nahmias that Angel was going to murder him. However, Nahmias fled from his hiding place before he could reach him. Yeshurun also said he was relieved when he was eventually arrested because he knew Angel also wanted to kill him.

Prison brit mila reunites parents

By LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ASHKELON. — Five-month-old Goral Adam, son of Grit Arviv, a prisoner in Neve Tirza and Herzl Avitan, who is in the Ashkelon prison, was yesterday finally given a *brit mila*. His parents were briefly reunited for the ceremony.

Arviv was convicted last year of taking part in the \$750,000 jewel robbery in the Keren Or plant in Ramat Gan last January, but cleared of the murder of plant guard David Ashuri.

Avitan, the child's father, is still standing trial for Ashuri's murder and for the murder last year of Ramle detention centre warden Roni Nitzan. He was extradited last

year from France.

The couple's son was born in Neve Tirza and lives there with his mother. When he reaches 18 months it is expected he will be placed for adoption.

Dr. Mordechai Wertheimer, chief commissioner of prisons and an observant Jew, was instrumental in arranging the ceremony, which had been held up for security reasons.

Arviv was escorted by Tat-Gundar David Distelfeld, chief of security for the Prison Service, from her prison to the Ashkelon wardens' club where the *brit* was held. She was not allowed to stand closer than two metres from Avitan at the ceremony which was performed by Rabbi Rafael Shoshan.

Rain, wind to stop, but cold to continue

BEIT DAGAN. — The rain and strong wind that lashed most of the country yesterday should stop today, according to the duty weatherwoman here.

She said that temperatures will stay low today and tonight with the possibility of frost if the clouds dis-

appear.

Temperatures should rise tomorrow and Wednesday.

Roads leading to the Mount Hermon ski slope were closed yesterday due to heavy snow falls. Light snow also fell on the northern Golan Heights.

Peace Now pickets premier's office

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Peace Now supporters demonstrated outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday to protest Israel's continued presence in Lebanon.

They carried banners saying "245

days of war, 473 dead, how much longer?"

The protest was one of a series held by the movement in the past week. A group of government supporters held a counter-rally nearby. Both demonstrations were peaceful.

Ten hurt in collision

ACRE (Itim). — Ten persons were injured yesterday afternoon when a taxi and a car collided at the Ahinud junction of the Acre-Safad highway.

Most of those injured were only slightly hurt, with several discharged from the hospital last night.

Spanish policemen due

MADRID (AP). — Two members of the Spanish police are due to visit Israel shortly to collect information on the Basque organization ETA. Israel apparently obtained information from prisoners it captured during Operation Peace for Galilee.

S. LEBANESE

(Continued from Page One)

found innocent of terrorist activities be freed.

• A demand that Israel not "interfere" in the Lebanese economy.

• An announcement of the formation of councils to deal with local affairs.

• A declaration of support for Major Sa'ad Haddad's popular militias and a call to residents to join up.

• A demand to UNIFIL to give up its mandate, since it had failed to prevent both the terrorists and the IDF from moving into the area.

According to the Associated Press, Israeli troops guarded the Koleila mosque as the meeting was in progress.

An Israeli major who identified himself as "Abu Tamara" then addressed the crowd in Arabic pledging Israeli support for the group "As long as it puts Lebanon's interests above any other interest."

Western diplomatic sources, who had been anticipating the formation of the group, said Israeli officers have been meeting with village leaders in recent weeks to lay the foundation of the political-military organization.

The diplomats said the Israelis were backing the group in an effort to form a friendly force in South Lebanon that would insure the protection of their northern border once the Israeli army pulled out.

However, the turnout for yesterday's meeting indicated a lack of widespread support for the movement. A reporter on the scene said only eight "mukhtars," or village leaders, turned up.

Meanwhile, in Nabatie, a resident's committee was established to support a separate peace treaty between South Lebanon and Israel.

Dr. Abdallah Safiedin of Nabatie said he had no doubt that the Beirut government was the biggest obstacle to peace, because the "Lebanese government doesn't consider the needs of the South."

Therefore, he asked for Israeli help. He said that if the Southern Lebanese signed a treaty with Israel, the Beirut government would follow suit.

TALKS. — Osama El-Baz, foreign affairs adviser to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, arrived yesterday in Amman for talks with Jordanian officials.



Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan yesterday visits a physics class at Elsheva high school in Pardess Hanna. (Israel Sun)

Eitan says marine incident inflated

PARDESS HANNA (Itim). — Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan speaking yesterday to hundreds of local schoolchildren, referred to last Wednesday's IDF tank unit and a U.S. Marine officer. He said that "the American forces in Lebanon do not bother IDF activity. There was an incident inflated beyond any kernel of truth. The version we publicized is correct and was accepted by the American media."

Asked about the threat posed by the SAM-5 missiles in Syria, he said he was sure "Israel would find a way to overcome them."

Eitan said the PLO leadership could be divided into extremists and

"less extremists." But he warned that even the "less extremists" wanted to establish a Palestine state in Ashdod, Beersheba and Pardess Hanna.

He said he is now able to view the Israeli entry into Beirut with the benefit of hindsight, and he thinks it was justified, because it scattered the PLO and freed Lebanon from them. He said an entry into Beirut had not been a primary object of the Peace for Galilee Operation, but was made necessary by the assassination of Lebanese president-elect, Bashir Jemayel.

Asked to sum up his term of chief of staff (which ends in April), Eitan said the time had not yet come for him to draw any deep conclusions.

No talks with Israel now, says Russian

BEIRUT (Reuters). — A senior Soviet official, in an interview published here yesterday, dismissed a call by Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon for direct talks between Israel and the Kremlin but said Moscow would welcome normal ties if the Israelis gave up their policy of "expansion."

Karen Broutens, deputy head of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, was commenting on the call made by Sharon in an Israeli newspaper interview on January 28.

Broutens told the Beirut English language weekly *Monday Morning*: "This is not the first time that General Sharon tries, in his own peculiar way, to play the so-called 'Soviet card'. I don't think he can seriously raise this matter in the present situation, with Israel pushing ahead with its aggressive policy."

But, he added, that Moscow had frequently stated it would welcome normal relations with Israel once it abandoned "its policy of aggression and expansion towards its neighbours."

Italian soldier wounded by Beirut cluster bomb

BEIRUT (AP). — An Italian soldier serving with the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon was seriously wounded in a cluster bomb explosion and had to have his leg amputated, an Italian spokesman said yesterday.

Samanna Giovanni, 19, of Trapani, spotted a cluster bomb on

Saturday near his base in the Moslem sector. He picked up the bomb thinking it was inert and carried it with him to headquarters to hand over to the bomb disposal unit. The bomb exploded while Giovanni was unloading his gear from his vehicle. Six other Italian soldiers were slightly wounded.

IDF, UNIFIL meet over removal of roadblock

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — IDF and UNIFIL officials have held talks over an incident in which French UNIFIL troops stopped an Israeli officer driving his private car just north of the Israeli border. The incident, which was revealed yesterday, happened last week.

The French soldiers refused to let the officer pass. An hour later the officer reportedly returned with several soldiers in a command car and they removed the UNIFIL roadblock.

The two sides agreed to prevent similar incidents in the future.

On the first anniversary of the passing of the beloved head of the family

EZRA MOSHE MIZRACHI

we will conduct a memorial service at the graveside on Tuesday, February 8, 1983 at 3.30 p.m., at the Har Hazeitim cemetery, Jerusalem.

We will meet at the entrance to Har Hazeitim.

The Family

To Dr. Nachum Zonenshain, Director of the Ear, Nose, Throat Dept. of the Assaf Harofe Hospital.

We share your deep grief at the death of your

Father

Staff of Ear, Nose, Throat Clinic, Assaf Harofe Hospital

With great sorrow we announce the death on Friday, February 4, 1983 of my beloved husband, our dear brother, father and grandfather

Rabbi I. USHER KIRSHBLUM

The body will arrive today, February 7, 1983, on El Al flight 002, from New York. The funeral will leave from the Sanhedria funeral parlour today at 3 p.m. to the Har Hamenuhot cemetery.

The bereaved family
Shiva at the home of A.W. Fried, 20 Rehov Balfour, Jerusalem.

Together with our dear Hávra
Hanna Michael and her family
we mourn the loss of their beloved husband and father

Dr. MOSHE MICHAEL

Emunah — National Religious Women's Organization

The Management and Staff of
Non-Ferrous Metal Works Ltd., Petah Tikva
mourn the passing of

DAVID (DON) COHEN

and extend sincere condolences to all the family

In profound sorrow and grief we announce the passing of our beloved father and grandfather

HERMAN (HARRY) HERSCOVICI

The funeral will leave tomorrow, Tuesday, February 8, 1983 at 2.30 p.m. from the Assuta Hospital for the Nahalat Yitzhak cemetery. Shiva at the residence of the deceased, 3 Rehov Yehoash, Tel Aviv.

His son and daughter-in-law: Aliza and Ginu Herscovici (Brazil)

His son: Sami Ofri

His grandchildren: Shelly Herscovici, Ron and Dan Ofri

Families: Nahminovici, Bandel, Froim, Vidar.

Sheli breakup looks likely over Peled-Cohen dispute

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A *de-facto* split has occurred in Sheli, with Uri Avnery, Aluf (res) Matti Peled and Ya'acov Arnon breaking away from the left-wing party. All three met recently with PLO chief Yasser Arafat in Tunis. Sheli's two splinters will begin organizing into distinct political entities this week.

But Avnery denied vehemently yesterday that he is about to strike a political alliance with the communist Rakah party.

"Direct cause for the split is Peled's refusal to apologize to the party's Histadrut representative, Rami Cohen, for accusing him of 'crimes against humanity,' because Cohen, a reserve span aluf (Lt-colonel), commanded an IDF artillery unit during the war in Lebanon. The Sheli executive demanded last Thursday that Peled withdraw his remarks and apologize within three days or be ousted from the party. The three days were up yesterday and Peled refused to take back anything he said. He added that he does not intend to belong to the same party as Cohen."

The split will probably be formalized with the two groups seeking to either re-group independently or unite with other left-wing forces. Some Sheli members may find their way back into Mapam, from whence they originally came. Cohen's adversaries in the party had continuously accused him of "being a closet Mapamnik all along."

At the same time, Avnery characterized reports to the effect that he is seeking political partnership with Rakah and the Birzeit University supporters, as "libel" by his rivals within Sheli. He admitted contacts with some Rakah leaders in regard to further meetings with Arafat, but not with an eye to the formation of any union or political front.

Although Sheli's executive meeting last Thursday approved of the meeting with Arafat, there had been rumblings in Sheli about that meeting and this is seen as having contributed indirectly to the differences which erupted openly in the Peled-Cohen confrontation.

Sheli did not elect a single MK in the last elections.

El Al workers present own list of those to sack

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — El Al's joint works committee and the Histadrut yesterday presented El Al's management with alternative lists to those drawn up by management of 650 workers to be dismissed.

The Histadrut and workers are demanding that the names of several workers who want to retire should replace those who do not want to leave El Al, and that six members of El Al works committees should be taken off the lists. The workers claim management put the committee members on the list out of malice.

The Histadrut objects to management's plan to fire 27 flight engineers, claiming that El Al Board Chairman Nahman Perel had

agreed with the Histadrut to continue the flight engineers' employment. Management denies such an agreement.

It was learned yesterday that only the temporary receiver can accept or reject the Histadrut and workers' demands concerning the workers to be dismissed, and that the receiver will probably not make any decisions until the end of the week.

Nine El Al passenger flights and two cargo flights left Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday with some 500 passengers. All departing passenger flights were booked solid for their return flight, management sources said.

Shares market highly active again

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Shares turned highly volatile in yesterday's trading, with 14 "buyers only" and 15 "sellers only" situations. An additional 67 securities rose by more than 5 percent, while 63 declined by similar margins.

The various securities associated with the Rieger-Fishman mutual funds came under severe pressures. The Ata B, Ata C, Lighterage 0.1 and Cold Bonded 0.1 were all registered as "sellers only" for the second consecutive session. Today these shares will trade without any price restrictions.

The FBI and International Bank

shares, also associated with the Rieger-Fishman group, were topped for losses of 10 percent and 9.4 percent respectively. Lighterage 0.5, also associated with the same group, fell by no less than 28 percent.

Early yesterday morning suspicions that the Treasury may open for a major devaluation of the shekel, so as to assist exporters, created an air of uncertainty.

Trading turnovers were just under \$1.5 billion indicating a modicum of participation in the market by the public.

The index-linked bond market was mixed and trading conditions were mostly quiet. (Details, Page 7)

Nazareth woman raped, murdered

NAZARETH. — A 72-year-old woman was raped and murdered here Saturday night during a burglary at her home.

Sajwa Hanna Warwar told police that she and her sister Kamla heard burglars enter their house at 2:40 a.m., and that when Kamla ran downstairs to confront them, she was sexually assaulted and strangled. The burglars then grabbed a gold bracelet and \$1,400 in cash and fled the house, Sajwa said.

The woman told the police she believed that three men had been involved. Local police chief Sgan-Nitzav Jaber Jabarin has set up a special team to investigate the

crime, and sources said that three local residents are being held for questioning.

In another case, two Nazareth men were given prison sentences by the District Court here yesterday for killing and robbing a 92-year-old woman from the nearby village of Raine.

Bashir Jaradat, 26, was sentenced to 12 years, and Alex Matar was given a nine-year term. A third defendant, Tiasir Jaradat, was not sentenced, pending a psychological report. The three were convicted of slaying Amina Azayza during a burglary at her home.

Cash grant for ex-soldiers on priority jobs

A law gazetted after being passed in the Knesset will allow soldiers just discharged from national military service to receive a special grant if they are placed in one of several "priority industries" by the government's employment service.

A service spokesman said yesterday that the grant will be 50 percent of unemployment pay and will continue for 138 days, a total of \$25,000 at today's rate, if the recipient works where he is placed for six months. The grant is available to former soldiers who, within two years of their discharge, join a "priority industry." These include industrial factories, metalwork shops, electrical industries, food processors and agriculture. (Item)



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The owner of a Jerusalem shop surveys the wreckage yesterday after it was vandalized allegedly by yeshiva students. (Rahamim Israeli)

'She makes yeshiva students look at her'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Jerusalem police spokesman yesterday said that arrests are expected in the case of a sign shop vandalized on Saturday night on Rehov Agrippas, allegedly by students of the nearby Belz yeshiva.

The incident, one in a series of attacks reportedly made by the students on the shop, is attributed to the owner's refusal to stop employing a woman assistant.

Police said that last week the students broke in, overturned cans of paint on signs and scrawled slogans on the doors of the shop. The latest

incident involved breaking some roof tiles.

The Jerusalem Post was told by one of the students that he was among those who broke in. He said they had done so because the woman sat outside, forcing all the students to look at her as they passed. She and her friends would sit on the steps of the yeshiva itself, he said, in order to anger the students.

The student, who refused to give his name, claimed he and his friends had caused little damage. "We just threw in some dirt and moved things around a bit," he said.

TA councillors get heated over Yom Kippur proposal

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — There were angry scenes at the municipal council meeting yesterday when opposition councillor Arye Zucker objected to the city's proposal to require non-Jewish business owners to close on Yom Kippur.

Zucker said the law grants non-Jews the right to close their businesses on their sabbath and holidays, and operate them on Jewish ones. Yom Kippur is a religious Jewish holiday, and imposing it on non-Jews is not only religious coercion but also a contradiction of Israel's declaration of independence and the law, he said.

Zucker was interrupted by shouts of "You're an enemy of Israel." "Who do you think you're defending? Are you trying to defend Moslems? The council should denounce you," yelled Deputy

Mayor Haim Basok, leader of the municipality's religious front.

The city's legal adviser David Talmor, explained that the law granting non-Jews the right to operate their businesses on Jewish holidays is a declarative one, and it is up to each local authority to regulate it. Until now, non-Jewish business owners were not allowed to operate on Jewish holidays, but following several comments by the courts, the city decided to liberalize its attitude and allow non-Jews to operate on Jewish holidays, except Yom Kippur.

Attorney Nassime Shakar, of the committee for Jafa's Arabs, told the Jerusalem Post that if the city implements the Yom Kippur amendment, "he would apply to the High Court of Justice."

Other members of the opposition faction refused to support Zucker and said the issue should be voted on according to conscience.

MK wants Druse-Christian pact

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Amal Nasser e-Din, the Druse Likud MK, has promised to continue efforts to arrange a reconciliation between the Christians and Druse in Lebanon.

In an interview with The Jerusalem Post, Nasser e-Din said yesterday that the Phalangists had made a mistake when they harassed the Druse community in Lebanon. "They probably forgot that the Druse have played an active role in the history of Lebanon and they will not surrender to external dictates as the Moslem Sunni and the Moslem Shi'ite have already done."

"The Druse will stand against any military pressure to put them down."

'Sons of Village' denounce moderates

By YOEL DAR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — The Sons of the Village Movement of radical Israeli Arabs has called for silencing Arab moderates who support a peaceful solution to the Jewish-Arab conflict.

In a leaflet distributed yesterday in Arab villages in the North, the authors of the leaflet published by the movement claimed that several groups in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have recently signed petitions and held political meetings urging approval of the Reagan Plan.

"We warn our people to foil these

attempts and to reject any solution which does not ensure the rights of the Palestinian refugees to return to their former homes and an establishment of a Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO," the leaflet said.

It also praised the terrorists in Lebanon for their courage in protecting the honour of the Arab nation "against the Zionist aggressors."

Galilee police last week arrested several movement members on suspicion of having painted the walls of their club in the colours of the PLO flag.

South Africans here to learn how to increase rain

A team of South African scientists, impelled by the prediction that demand for water in South Africa will exceed supply by the year 2020, has arrived here to learn how to increase rainfall.

The programme of the group in Israel includes meetings with a team of Hebrew University experts in weather modification headed by Professor Abraham Gagin, visits to the laboratories of the university's department of atmospheric sciences, and observations of cloud-seeding techniques and facilities. Gagin and his colleagues have achieved international renown in the area of weather modification. A recent issue of the American journal Science noted that the Israel project, carried out under the direction of three Hebrew University researchers — Professors Gagin, Jehuda Neumann and Ruben Gabriel — was the only experiment

consistently to yield rain increases at ground level.

"The Hebrew University scientists have already been through it all," Dr. P.J.T. Roberts of the South African team said. "They can save us from going up blind alleys."

Tourism still down

Tourism to Israel is still on the slide compared with last year, according to figures released yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics. A total of 51,100 visitors entered the country last month, 6 percent less than in January, 1982. But the figure was some 10 percent higher than the figures for November and December.

TV LICENCE. — The TV licence fee will total \$2,450 this year, with payment divided into three parts. The radio licence fee for vehicles will be \$1800.

New rules will benefit Israelis with SA assets

By PETER WILHELM
Special to The Jerusalem Post

JOHANNESBURG. — Israeli residents who withdraw assets from South Africa should benefit from the major dismantling of the country's exchange controls, which were announced on Saturday.

Up to now, non-resident investors in South Africa have been allowed to withdraw earnings from dividends or the sale of assets through a mechanism known as the financial rand, which is worth less than the commercial rand.

This has meant that rand income sent abroad has had to be discounted into foreign exchange.

The rate has fluctuated and any capital exchanges have been to the disadvantage of non-residents. The financial rand has now in effect been abolished and earnings in South Africa can be sent out of the country at the rate of exchange against foreign currency.

Also, under the new rules, announced by Finance Minister Owen

Horwood on Saturday and which come into force today, financial contributions to Israel by South African Jewry are likely to be subject to fewer curbs than in the past, while business and tourists will be permitted to take out larger foreign currency allowances than have been allowed in more than 20 years.

Stringent exchange controls were imposed on South Africans, and on non-residents with investments in South Africa, in 1961 when panic gripped the financial community after the riots at Sharpeville and elsewhere.

The new moves were made possible by a massive inflow of foreign funds into South Africa which achieved a positive trade balance of 1,000 million rand in the third quarter of 1982 (one rand is worth \$133.75).

The situation is certain to have improved even more since then as gold, South Africa's major export, has risen in price to about \$500 an ounce.

New phone books available

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Starting this week telephone subscribers may apply for any or all of eight new telephone directories, which will be mailed free directly to their homes.

The communications ministry will place advertisements in the press in a few days, instructing subscribers where to write to receive the volumes, which were all published by the Golden Pages company in 1982. The volumes cover all of the country except for the Tel Aviv (03) region, and are printed in Hebrew with the Golden Pages commercial index included.

The Tel Aviv volume is to appear later this year. A public tender for an English-language directory is being prepared by the ministry.

Meanwhile, the ministry announced that its new express mail service to the U.S., which was instituted 10 days ago, has been a "surprising success," with hundreds of pieces of mail sent from Israel to America and from the U.S. to Israel during the first week.

Each letter or package up to one kilo costs the equivalent in shekels of \$35 to send. According to checks made by the postal services, the mail has arrived within 48 to 72 hours of posting.

J'lem, TA, Haifa mayors plan pressure on Knesset

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The local authorities may run their own list for the next Knesset if the government fails to grant them the autonomy they need to carry out their functions.

This idea, aimed at pressuring the government, was raised here yesterday at a meeting of mayors Teddy Kolek of Jerusalem, Shlomo Lahat of Tel Aviv, Arye Gurel of Haifa and the chairman of the local authorities union, Pinhas Eilon. They decided to explore the idea further at a meeting next month.

At the meeting, the first of its kind, the mayors agreed on regular cooperation for common action to

alleviate government control over city halls, which they said makes it difficult for mayors to serve their citizens.

They want an urgent meeting with Interior Minister Yosef Burg to discuss their difficulties, and with Education Minister Zevulun Hammer on educational and social problems, including those of the Arab citizens of their towns.

The mayors also decided to set up a committee to explore banning private cars from city centres, and to call on traffic police to intensify law enforcement in the cities.

They also called on the government to transfer to them money collected by the Treasury in lieu of the abolished local business taxes.

Rubinstein leaves \$500,000 to Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The late Arthur Rubinstein has willed \$500,000 for the beautification of Jerusalem, according to municipal sources.

The pianist left the money to the Jerusalem Foundation. The municipality will decide how the money will be spent in keeping with Rubinstein's intentions.

Rishon pupils strike over building conditions

RISHON LEZION (Item). — Some 1,400 pupils at the Yadlin elementary school here yesterday stayed away from classes, in accordance with a decision by the school's parents committee. The strike, which was called to protest the poor physical state of the school buildings, is to continue indefinitely.

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Law would aid soldiers who are disadvantaged

Jerusalem Post Reporter

IDF conscripts, who failed to complete eight grades of elementary school, would be given three months of intensive coaching during their military service under a private members bill by Yehuda Perah (Likud-Liberals), which the cabinet approved in draft form at its weekly session yesterday.

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said an average of 6,300 soldiers enter the IDF each year without eight grades to their credit and about 1,000 of these cannot read or write.

When Sharon said the IDF could help give these soldiers the missing schooling provided he got an \$830 million increase in the defence budget, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor sharply objected, commenting that the Israel Defence Fund was already making large sums of money available for the same end, and that the scheme to teach soldiers to read and write existed for many years, and had always been funded by the IDF.

Sharon finally agreed to waive his request for the extra money.

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer said that while there could be no objection to Perah's law, making the supplementary education into a statutory right for disadvantaged soldiers, ministers should not delude themselves that the law would solve the problem. The best course to adopt would be to devote greater efforts to the elementary schools, Hammer insisted.

Hashish smoker must

paint old-age home

HAIFA (Item). — A Safad painting contractor who sold and smoked hashish was sentenced yesterday to do a year's maintenance work on a Safad old aged home.

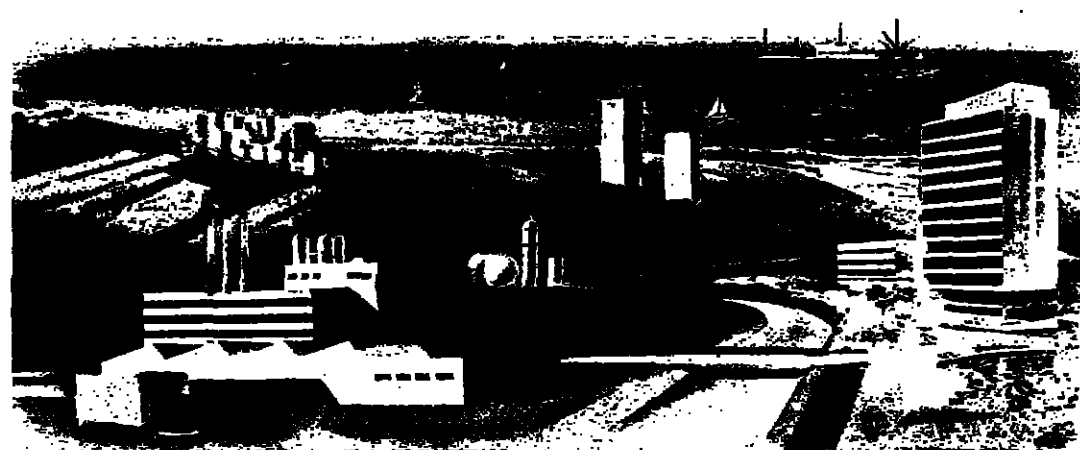
Moshe Ezra was also sentenced by the Haifa district court to an 18 month suspended jail sentence and fined \$15,000 on the hashish charge and \$10,000 for insulting the prosecutor.

The judge said Ezra would work at the old aged home for a few hours every day for one year.

Druckman wants probe in inductee's suicide

MK Rabbi Haim Druckman (NRP) last night demanded an urgent Knesset debate on the suicide of Moshe Melamed from Sede Boker, after one day's service in the IDF. Melamed was 19½. He had belonged to the mystic cult, Etzba Elohim (the finger of God), conducted by poetess Rina Shani from an ashram in Zichron Ya'acov. Melamed joined the sect two years ago.

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THE INSIDE TRACK

A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

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Italians detect shift in U.S. missile policy

ROME. — U.S. Vice-President George Bush met yesterday with Italian political leaders as he continued his 12-day tour to bolster support for U.S. arms control policies among Western European allies.

The vice-president consulted with leaders of the Christian Democrat and Social Democrat Parties, as well as with former premier and Republican Party head Giovanni Spadolini. Bush met with Premier Amintore Fanfani after his arrival in Rome on Saturday night.

Today Bush is to meet with the head of Italy's Socialist Party, Bettino Craxi, before a private audience with Pope John Paul II.

Leaders of all four parties that make up Italy's coalition government have supported the plan by the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance to base 112 cruise missiles in Comiso, Sicily, as part of its effort to counter Soviet medium-range rockets in Eastern Europe.

Government officials said they

saw Bush's reiteration here of his remark in Geneva that the zero option — a mutual elimination of all U.S. and Soviet missiles in Europe — was not a "take-it-or-leave-it proposition" as an important shift in U.S. policy.

Moscow has repeatedly rejected the zero option, and leading Italian and West German politicians have recently suggested there could be some intermediate stage towards this goal.

The sources said Italy detected some clear movement in the U.S. position, underscored by Bush's statement in Geneva that an intermediate stage short of the zero option could be acceptable "if a sound, sensible, proposal is brought in by the Soviets that fits that description."

Work at the cruise missile site in Comiso has already begun. Although it has not been marked by the growth of a strong anti-nuclear movement, the government expects one will emerge. (AP, Reuter).

U.S. affirms ties to S. Korea

SEOUL (Reuter). — U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz pledged continued military support for South Korea after arriving in Seoul yesterday amid increased tension with the north over giant U.S.-South Korean maneuvers.

Shultz, who flew in from Peking on the third leg of an Asian tour, had a 90-minute meeting with Foreign Minister Lee Bum-Suk and plans to meet President Chun Doo Hwan today.

His visit coincides with annual U.S.-South Korean military exercises in the south involving 188,000 troops. North Korea responded to the 10-week exercises by putting its armed forces on a "semi-war" footing and accusing the U.S. of preparing for a new war in Korea.

Hours after Shultz left China, an official Chinese commentary yesterday

denounced U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, demanded "actual deeds rather than empty words" and said Shultz's visit only helped "to some extent."

The official Xinhua News Agency, in a signed commentary, said his visit "has helped Sino-U.S. relations to some extent, in that it provided an opportunity for a full exchange of ideas and understanding of each other's positions and views. But their differences over Taiwan and other bilateral issues still remain."

Chinese leaders, it said, also complained to Shultz about "discriminatory and restrictive" U.S. policies in economics, trade, culture and technological exchanges. They called them detrimental to developing relations. (Reuter, AP)

Pakistan strongman plans to ban public rallies

ISLAMABAD (Reuter). — Pakistan's military ruler, President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, said on Saturday that public rallies and marches would be banned under the Islamic political system he plans to give the country.

The big outdoor political rallies and marches traditionally held in Pakistan waste time and disrupt normal life, he said.

It is not right for any politician to proclaim to 100,000 people at a public meeting that he has the answer to everything, he said.

Zia, who banned all political par-

ties in 1979, said he is studying whether parties could function within an Islamic system.

He told reporters that under the system he has promised to implement by August 14, the 36th anniversary of Pakistan's independence, politicians would have to find other means, such as indoor meetings, to make contact with the people.

He suspended Pakistan's western-style parliamentary system after seizing power in 1977 and topping Prime Minister Zulfikar Bhutto, who was later executed for conspiracy to murder.

Thailand taking Kampuchean refugees

BANGKOK (AP). — Thailand has allowed 5,000 endangered Kampuchean civilians refuge from fighting and shelling along the Thai-Kampuchean border, with the prospect of several thousand more crossing into Thailand yesterday, according to the director of the International Committee of the Red Cross mission here, John de Salais.

De Salais said officials of the UN Border Relief Operation were making arrangements to move a further 15,000 Kampucheans to areas near the village of Ang Sita, a few kilometres inside Thailand and about 13 kilometres north of the frontier town of Arany Aprathet.

He visited areas Saturday around the Nong Chan border encampment, which was attacked and oc-

cupied by Vietnamese troops last Monday, driving out 30,000 civilians and several thousand anti-Vietnamese guerrillas in adjacent bases.

"The understanding with Thai authorities is that civilians are not being allowed into Thailand on a long-term basis. We are very grateful for this merciful and reasonable decision," said de Salais.

Meanwhile the daily Bangkok Post quoted the commander of the non-Communist Son Sann resistance, Chea Chhut, as saying his guerrillas were preparing to fight to the last man at another large Kampuchean border encampment, 25 kilometres north of Arany Aprathet.

Soviets rap Afghans for 'reign of terror'

MOSCOW (Reuter). — The Soviet army newspaper Red Star said yesterday that Afghan guerrilla forces had killed thousands of people in their efforts to overthrow Afghanistan's pro-Moscow government.

The report from Kabul was the latest in a recent series of Soviet articles which have given insight into the strength of the guerrilla armies and, for the first time, reported Soviet casualties.

It said the guerrillas had instituted what it termed a reign of terror in areas they controlled, adding they had tortured and killed prisoners and opponents in a style reminiscent of the Nazi Gestapo.

Moscow is believed to have about 105,000 troops in Afghanistan. Recent reports have suggested that both Soviet and Afghan government forces have suffered major setbacks in campaigns against the guerrillas.

Basques apologize for bombing deaths

BILBAO, Spain (Reuter). — The separatist guerrilla group ETA has claimed responsibility for a bomb attack against a Bilbao bank on Saturday, but apologized for the death of two workers and the wounding of seven, a Basque newspaper said yesterday.

The hardline military wing of ETA (Basque Homeland and Freedom) said in a statement the bomb should not have exploded during working hours and may have been set off by accident, the daily Egin added.

"This explanation does not diminish our responsibility or justify an act which has caused so much suffering to the Basque working class," ETA said, according to the paper.

RELATIONS. — The gulf state of Bahrain and Chile have decided to establish diplomatic relations.

Injections kill Brazilian transvestites

SAO PAULO, Brazil (AP). — Police say at least eight transvestites are dead and 40 are ill here because they were given injections of industrial silicone sold to them as the pharmaceutical variety.

Police said the victims took the injections in the hope it would give them more feminine shapes. Three people, two of them transvestites, have been charged with murder in connection with the deaths.

Transvestite prostitutes are common in the red-light district and on certain streets in residential areas of this city, the largest in South America.

Cesar de Freitas Guimaraes, 28, was charged with injecting a quart of silicone into the buttocks of Ronaldo Firmino da Silva, 30, who died of heart failure hours later on January 30. Police said the silicone caused the heart attack.

Police charged Mario Alberto Cariotta, 30, with selling industrial silicone mixed with a laxative to the transvestites as pharmaceutical silicone.

A police officer who headed the investigation said the industrial silicone is a poison and is used to make glue.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Philippine mine explosion kills 15

MANILA (AP). — A coal mine explosion caused by a lighted cigarette has killed 15 workers on Cebu island in the Central Philippines, the Philippine news agency reported yesterday.

The explosion occurred Wednesday in the Danao mine, 560 kilometres southeast of Manila.

Thatcher's car hit by escort at anti-nuke protest

OXFORD, England (AP). — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's car was rammed by its police escort on Saturday when anti-nuclear demonstrators in this university city dashed in front of her motorcade, forcing it to stop short.

The prime minister, on a visit to her alma mater, Somerville College, Oxford, was unhurt, her office said yesterday, adding that only "slight damage" was done to her Daimler and the police escort's Ford. Some 400 demonstrators had gathered outside the gates of the college, shouting "Maggie out" and "Jobs not bombs."

Artificial heart man looking good, exercising

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah (AP). — Barney Clark, the world's first recipient of a permanent artificial heart, appears "better now than he ever has" since his landmark implant surgery, a hospital official says. Saturday was Clark's 66th day with the artificial heart. He exercised with a hand grip Friday for the first time since his surgery and pumped the pedals of an exercise cycle.

U.S. volcano may erupt again

VANCOUVER, Washington (AP). — Mount St. Helens is likely to erupt again within two weeks, scientists at Washington University and the U.S. Geological Survey said Saturday night.

The eruption could be serious, in view of recent explosive activity and gas emissions in the crater, the agencies said in a joint statement.

Mount St. Helens erupted on May 18, 1980, killing 59 people.

Ex-CIA man guilty of smuggling arms to Libya

HOUSTON, Texas (Reuter). — A former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agent was found guilty on Saturday of conspiring to smuggle 20 tons of plastic explosives to Libya in 1977.

Edwin Wilson has already been sentenced to 15 years in prison for smuggling five guns to the North African country in 1979. He now faces a possible further jail sentence of 17 years.

Congress Party ahead in Indian local election

NEW DELHI (Reuter). — A clear trend emerged yesterday in favour of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress Party as results began coming in from local Delhi elections on Saturday.

The municipal poll attracted considerable public attention following demoralizing state election defeats for the party last month in two of its former bastions in the south.

Gerald Ford has surgery for 'old football injury'

RANCHO MIRAGE, California (AP). — Former U.S. president Gerald Ford underwent knee surgery Saturday and his doctor said damage from "an old football injury" turned out to be a bit more involved than expected.

However, Dr. Robert Murphy said that after a few days recuperating in the hospital, Ford should be able to return home in this community, near Palm Springs, and may be back on the golf course within a few weeks.

Sports

Carl Lewis the fastest as well

DALLAS (AP). — Carl Lewis, reigning Olympic sprinter, was the fastest man in the world today, clocking a world record 6.02 seconds in the 60-yard dash at an invitation indoor track meet here on Saturday night. Lewis, the world indoor long jump record holder, eclipsed the 60-year standard of 6.04 which was set by Stanley Floyd here in 1981. Lewis outlasted Georgia all-American tailback Herschel Walker, who finished second in 6.12.

Lewis' previous best was 6.06 seconds.

Marsh leads Aussies home

PERTH (AP). — Australia bucked the odds to qualify for the rich Benson and Hedges cricket cup finals series when they applied relentless pressure to beat New Zealand by 27 runs at the WACA ground here yesterday. When Geoff Lawson bowled tailender Ewen Chatfield for a duck Australia had won with 31 balls to spare.

Australia 191-9, New Zealand 164 all out.

This result in the final qualifying match means that England have been pushed out of the finals series, which will now be a best-of-three contest between the Kiwis and Aussies.

Remarkably none of the 22 batsmen were able to exceed a score of 33 on a pitch which gave the seam bowlers plenty of help particularly early in the day. Australia's hero was their evergreen wicketkeeper Rod Marsh who deserved "Man-of-the-Match" accolade. Marsh top-scored with a defiant 31 in 71 minutes and then gave a splendid exhibition behind the stumps, taking four catches.

In the first of a series of limited-overs encounters South Africa swapped the visiting West Indies "rebels" by 91 runs. SA 259-5 (Richards 162, Pullard 63), WI 159 all out.

SCOREBOARD

SOCCER: Watford kept well in the picture at the top of the English Division One table with a 3-1 away victory over Swansea in a postponed match played yesterday.

SKING: Roder Wald of Norway took advantage of falls by each of his competitors to win the Grand Slalom event at Winter Park, Colorado.

FOOTBALL: Juventus won the world cup final at St. Anton Austria in 2-0.

ATHLETICS: Japan's Yoshinori Nakamura headed home eight countries' men's 400m Japanese sweep of the top places in the marathon in Tokyo. The winning time was two hours 13.25.

SPORTS DIVIDENDS: The three greatest punters who had an all correct forecast in the weekend football pool each won \$1,267,000. The correct pool was 1511,385, 11 — 1982 and 10 — 15108.

R. Gan highlight

TEL AVIV. — With a break this week in European Cup action interest focuses on the run-in of the National Basketball League with a battle for play-off spots developing. In a full round of fixtures this evening the plum clash is the Ramat Gan derby at Yad Eliyahu where Hapoel must beat Maccabi to retain a hope of wrenching second spot from them.

Other games — Hapoel Haifa at Hapoel Tel Aviv; Maccabi Tel Aviv at Hapoel Haifa; Maccabi Haifa at Bnei Tel Aviv, at Elitzur, Haifa.

Standings after 19 Games

	W	L	PF	PA	Pts
Macc. TA	18	1	1856	1599	37
Macc. RG	15	4	1793	1641	34
Hapoel RG	13	6	1866	1640	32
Ashdod	11	8	1710	1617	30
Gali Elyon	11	8	1707	1639	30
Hapoel TA	10	9	1612	1594	29
Holon	10	9	1635	1564	29
Bnei TA	8	11	1491	1561	27
Hapoel Haifa	7	12	1694	1680	26
Macc. Haifa	5	14	1564	1715	24
Gan Shmuel	5	14	1379	1650	24
Elitzur	1	18	1590	1960	20

Lendl contained but wins anyway

PHILADELPHIA (AP). — Ivan Lendl, with the help of 12 aces, defeated tenacious Bill Scanlon, the upset kid of the tournament, 7-6, 7-6 to set yet another final against top-seeded John McEnroe in the \$375,000 U.S. pro-indoor tennis championships here. Both sets in two-hour battles of volleys went to tie-breakers won by Lendl 7-4 and 7-5. In the second tie-breaker, Scanlon fought off four match points before making two errors that made Lendl a winner for the 66th consecutive time indoors. The 22-year-old Czech lost last an indoor match in April 1981.

McEnroe won his semifinal 6-3, 6-3 over 16th-seeded Tim Mayotte, to earn his 30th victory in his last 31 matches.

Karni, Shmueli again

TEL AVIV. — Israel's long-distance specialists Yair Karni and Zehava Shmueli yet again shared the top honours when they won their respective races at Hapoel's weekend "cross-country" championships. More than 600 adult and junior runners took part in a variety of events held at Kibbutz Gan near Netanya.

Karni's winning time in the 10.5km. men's race was 37 minutes 18 seconds. The 15km. women's race was won by Zehava Shmueli in 47 minutes 28 seconds. Karni's last year's winner came third.

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WEEKLY REVIEW

Arms Reach

How Large An Economic Share Will Defense Get?

By KAREN W. ARENSON

ALL the military skill in the world could not camouflage the heavy increases in defense spending in a Federal budget proposal marked mostly by cutbacks and by a \$189 billion deficit.

Even before the budget documents for fiscal 1984 were formally distributed last week, the President's plan to raise real defense spending (after inflation) by 10 percent was drawing fire. It would bring defense to 43 percent of Federal spending if Social Security and net interest payments, so-called uncontrollables, are removed.

Many of the fears that the economy could not accommodate a buildup as rapid as the budget calls for — authorizations total \$1.8 trillion between 1984 and 1988 — have evaporated in the face of high unemployment and idle production capacity. But concerns remain that defense spending will clash with recovery by keeping deficits up. "It is clear that the downturn in the economy has freed up excess capacity for defense," Murray Weidenbaum, former chairman of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, said. "But I'm concerned that as the defense program really hits its stride there won't be enough capacity, and that it will push up prices."

Though the Reagan request for defense is not expected to be passed whole, it is widely expected that military spending will be allowed to grow, and that, as in the past, the White House program's structure will remain little changed. As Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, puts it, "Congress has never framed defense policy. What it does is nip away at the edges."

When Mr. Reagan took office, there was a consensus that defense ought to receive greater emphasis. The perspective continues to be shared. "The Russians have increased their forces enormously over the last 10 or 15 years, and we have not," Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Nixon and Ford Administrations, said last week. "All of this fear about what is going to happen to the American economy if spending increases by another 1 or 2 percent of G.N.P. is absolutely ridiculous. The difference will hardly be noticed."

But there have been many complaints about how Mr. Reagan has proceeded, and last week's proposals have only fueled the fire. The Reagan military strategy has come in for some criticism. A recent Internal Air Force study group contended that "we are trying to do too much with our current budget and as a result we are not doing 'military things well' and that 'the true cost' of planned weapons purchases was not covered. But the issue that has probably caused the greatest unease is the impact of a defense buildup on the economy and on the defense industry itself."

Concerns about industry's role are not new. In 1948, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, then Army Chief of Staff, recognized that military hardware had become so complex and sophisticated that a specialized industrial capability to turn it out would have to be maintained even during peacetime. (It was not until 15 years later, when President Eisenhower was leaving office, that he coined the term "the military-industrial complex" and warned of its pervasive influence.)

Today, there are many who doubt the capabilities of



M-1 tanks on the assembly line in Warren, Mich.

the military-industrial sector that encompasses hundreds of thousands of prime contractors, subcontractors and parts suppliers, employs more than one-fifth of all American scientists and engineers and pre-empted one-third of all research and development. The critics see a system of overruns and waste, of self-interest, of poor or nonexistent planning. They question the system's ability to handle a surge in demand under war conditions — and even its ability to handle a smaller peacetime buildup.

Many military analysts are also bothered by interrelationships among the military, the industrial sector and Congress which they say distort decisions about what to order. "What makes the military-industrial complex different is that it is really a political, rather than an economic, segment of the economy," David Gold, director of military research at the Council on Economic Priorities, a liberal nonprofit research group, says. "Most contractors are sheltered from competitive pressures, and incentive mechanisms are quite different."

Anatomy of the budget, pages 2 & 3

Part of the concern stems from the fact that the Administration plans the biggest buildup since World War II, one-fourth bigger than Vietnam, which was widely viewed as a key inflationary factor. To many analysts, the question is how big a share of the economy defense will get. When defense spending (excluding personnel costs) is viewed as a share of the goods-producing sector, it is growing significantly. According to Gary M. Wengrowski and Roseanne Cahn, economists at Goldman, Sachs & Company, it will move to 10 percent from 4.7 percent, and that means that the present rise in defense spending is likely "to put more inflationary pressure on the economy than many conventional analyses have indicated."

Also troublesome is the apparent shrinkage in the de-

The Reagan military budget

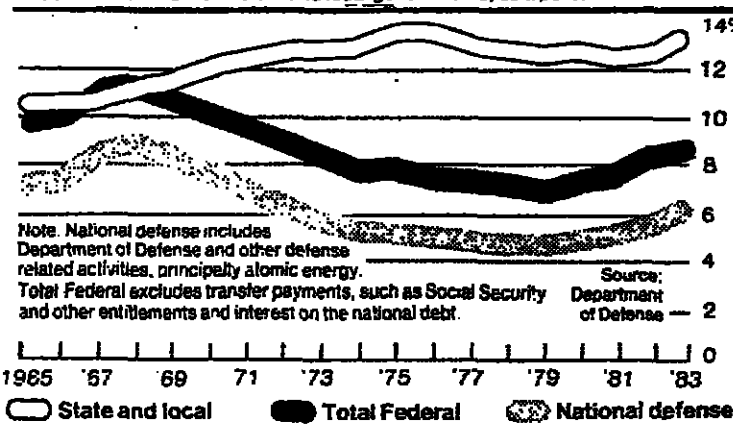
(Spending authority in billions of dollars; fiscal years)

	1982*	1983**	1984†	1985†	1986†
Pay and pay-related	83.3	90.5	95.0	99.4	104.9
Procurement	64.5	80.3	94.0	119.6	136.4
Operation and maintenance	40.9	41.3	49.0	60.1	70.7
Research, development, testing and evaluation	20.1	22.8	29.8	32.6	34.1
Military construction	4.9	4.5	5.8	9.9	10.3
Total Department of Defense	213.7	239.4	273.4	321.6	356.4
Atomic energy and other defense-related activities	5.0	6.1	7.1	8.4	8.4
Total	218.7	245.5	280.5	330.0	364.8

* actual ** estimate † requested Source: Department of Defense

The Pentagon's appetite

Defense spending compared to total purchases of goods and services by the Federal Government and state and local governments; as a percent of G.N.P.



Note: National defense includes Department of Defense and other defense-related activities, principally atomic energy. Total Federal excludes transfer payments, such as Social Security and other entitlements and interest on the national debt. Source: Department of Defense

defense sector after the Vietnam War ended. As defense spending grew less rapidly than the rest of the economy, prime contractors kept work they had previously sent out, and so subcontractors and parts suppliers went out of business or turned to other markets, vowing not to return to the fickle defense business. Between 1968 and 1975, by one count, the number of active aerospace industry subcontractors fell to fewer than 4,000 companies, from 6,000, while the foundry industry lost 240 companies.

The Defense Department recognizes some of these problems. Its annual report to Congress, issued last week, noted that "a key part of the efforts to rebuild our defense forces is the improvement of industrial responsiveness." It listed several programs aimed at encouraging greater private investment in defense production, including more spending to assist in the application of advanced technologies and processes, analyses to determine the need of certain industries for import relief, and a program to encourage productivity improvements. At the same time, the department predicts few bottlenecks.

Whether the programs will work remains to be seen. Jacques S. Gansler, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for acquisitions, is skeptical. "They tried to encourage multi-year procurements, but Congress fought that because it takes away their flexibility," he said. "The Defense Department has not really dramatically changed

goods increased, and their prices rose, although both have now improved.

Another problem in the rapid buildup is that the Pentagon does not appear to have found a way yet to smooth out the stop-and-go ordering that makes defense contracting unattractive to some companies. "They are trying to take care of all the backlogs in war reserve stocks in one to three years," Mr. Aspin said. "But people can't improve if you are telling them that you are going to drop them back to a lower level. No one wants to tool up for a pinnacle if they are going to be there only one year."

Other analysts have fears of a different sort. Seymour Melman, a professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, is concerned that what he sees as lax attitudes in the military-industrial sector will spread to other industries. "The military, by providing capital with a lavish hand, teaches everyone to design as if cost doesn't matter," he said. The military buildup "will infect the rest of the system."

Lester C. Thurow, a professor of economics at M.I.T., is also concerned about the economic effects of the defense buildup. He believes inflationary bottlenecks are less likely now than a year or two ago. But, he said, "The question that remains is what happens if we put all our skilled engineers to work on defense? How do we compete down the line with the Germans and the Japanese?"

Major News

In Summary

Reagan Tries a Different Path To His Goals

In Washington last week there was much talk about the Administration's new economic policy. Equally evident in the numbers and the language of President Reagan's Budget Message and the Economic Report was his old philosophy. Roosevelt was traded for Rousseau and the New Deal "safety net" became the 18th-century moralist's "social contract." But Mr. Reagan's guiding principle was one often cited in his Presidential campaigns: Government's first constitutional obligation is the national defense. His \$348.5 billion proposal for Federal spending in the 1984 fiscal year included a 10 percent increase for the Pentagon and a 14 percent reduction in social programs.

A \$189 billion deficit will be caused, Mr. Reagan's documents assert, not by the failure of his 1982 and 1983 plans. They proposed the correct means to right the "longstanding structural imbalance" that extended a simple social insurance system to "vast networks of dependency" while defense was permitted to fall to an "intolerable state." But the economy's response was "set two years behind schedule" by an unanticipated "prolonged recession in response to moderate monetary restraint" (meaning the anti-inflationary policies of the Federal Reserve). Current "modest" economic assumptions show his 1984 plan will work — a point Mr. Reagan dramatized yesterday in

his regular radio address by referring to the first drop in unemployment in 17 months — If Congress cooperates to cap health and other entitlement programs. If it does not, a tax increase would be needed in 1986.

Those modest assumptions and the tax increase are what set the economists' fingers pointing. Many private analysts considered the contingency tax proposal a disingenuous disguise for ditching supply-side economics, and the modest forecast protectively pessimistic. Adding the standby levy to the \$98 billion "revenue enhancement" the President helped push to passage last summer would rescind roughly 40 percent of the Administration's plan 1981 tax reduction, they noted. Adding in December's \$3.5 billion gas tax for highway repair and the bipartisan Social Security study commission's proposed payroll tax increases — both of which the White House accepted — would push Federal revenues as a percent of the gross national product by 1988 close to the 20.9 percent level Mr. Reagan decreed in his first months in office. As for this year and next, the Congressional Budget Office projected healthier growth for 1983 than the Administration, and put the deficit for 1984 at \$22 billion smaller.

Meanwhile, members of both parties were set scurrying by the military increases, social program cuts and the absence of job programs. The Economic Report acknowledged that unemployment is "the most serious problem now facing the United States," but explained that recovery from the recession will bring down



Ghanaians fleeing from Nigeria at the border between Togo and Benin.

the "cyclical unemployment" which it says affects 5 million of the 11.4 million now out of work.

As Senate and House appropriations, armed services and budget committees heard a full roster of Administration witnesses, the White House was both feeling the squeeze and resisting it. Budget director David A. Stockman's comment that any emergency job program should be temporary and targeted to the most distressed areas was followed by White House spokesman Larry M. Speakes's announcement that the Administration was "looking into" ways to speed up Federal military and

civilian construction projects. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger's testimony was interrupted by the arrival of a White House courier bearing a statement instructing him to say that in defense programs, "we have reached the bone."

Mr. Reagan made clear where he stands and how much politicking needs to be done in other ways too. In a news conference, he celebrated last week's report that joblessness in January had dropped to 10.4 percent (or 10.2 percent if military personnel are counted, which they now are) as proof positive that "we're on the way now" into recovery — "if the Con-

gress holds the line on spending." The occasion — beamed to the daytime home television audience and interrupted by his wife Nancy with a surprise 72d birthday cake — seemed as carefully designed as his tour by golfcart of a newly rebuilding Chrysler plant in St. Louis. "America's on the comeback," he told the autoworkers. The \$1.2 billion in Federal loan guarantees that helped Chrysler be born again was not mentioned.

Wave of Fear, Sea of Sadness

Hundreds of thousands of Ghanaians streamed back to their destitute country last week after Nigeria, suddenly gone from oil boom to bust, ordered unauthorized aliens out. Deprived of low-wage jobs they had held without residence permits or working papers, the refugees, mostly young men, fled in fear of vigilantes who threatened to steal their few belongings or kill them. Said a Ghanaian priest as they poured across the frontier, "They were going for milk and honey and they are coming back weeping tears."

The economy soured in Nigeria, an OPEC member, as petrodollars dwindled. Last week, the producers' cartel itself threatened to come unstuck. Kuwait and other Persian Gulf members were poised to sell oil at \$4 below the benchmark per-barrel price set by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. In the United States, the big oil companies knocked \$1 a barrel off the price of American oil and the Soviet Union reportedly gave Italian customers a discount of more than \$2. Against the tide, Nigeria has struggled to feed its uncounted tens of millions and maintain an economy distorted by a decade of easy money, but its high-priced oil was finding few buyers. When the ouster deadline arrived

Monday, the Ghanaian immigrants and thousands more from Mali, Chad, Niger, Upper Volta, Benin and Togo trekked home or paid scalper's fares to squeeze aboard jammed cattle trucks and fishing boats. More than 20 died of road accidents and drowning. Pope John Paul II deplored the "grave, incredible drama" and called for immediate aid.

In happier days, West Africans entered Nigeria freely under rules of the 16-nation regional economic community. But when the oil plug was pulled, Internal Affairs Minister Ali Baba blamed aliens for compounding unemployment and accused them of contributing to Islamic fundamentalist rioting in Nigeria's Muslim north. With national elections due in August, nonvoting foreigners became easy targets of opportunity.

In the resulting upheaval, Nigeria unloaded its perceived political liabilities on poor neighbors, where jobs were even scarcer. Ghana's leader, Flight Lieut. Jerry J. Rawlings, beset by 80 percent inflation and persistent rumors of incipient coups, called on tribal chiefs to put the new arrivals to work on the land.

Abroad with Messrs. Bush and Shultz

4

Developing
the
solutions

Worldwide

With over 450 branches and offices of which over 70 are located overseas

New York London Geneva Frankfurt a/M Buenos Aires Curaçao
Los Angeles Paris Milan Rome São Paulo Bahama
Miami Brussels Mexico City Johannesburg
Chicago Lyons Antwerp Panama City
Philadelphia Nice Montevideo Cayman Islands
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The Budget: Seeking Limits on Who Is Entitled to What

Variations on the New Deal Will Include No Pat Hands

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON
AS one of its first legislative acts, the House of Representatives of the 98th Congress last week voted to establish a new committee to study the needs of children, youth and families. Congress has created numerous programs and spent countless dollars on such problems. But today appreciation for the fiscal limits of government is growing. "Take education," said Representative George Miller, the California Democrat who heads the new panel. "We can pour billions and billions into the schools, but if families don't support the schools, there is not much we can do. The idea that government is the 100 percent solution is no longer viable."

As the creation of the new committee demonstrates, Congress is again debating a fundamental legislative question: What is the proper role of Government in maintaining the health and welfare of its citizens? The question lies at the heart of the rising clamor for emergency legislation to deal with unemployment. Congressional Democrats announced plans on Tuesday for a \$5 billion to \$7 billion jobs program. By the weekend, House minority leader Robert H. Michel had announced a Republican task force was working on "comprehensive jobs legislation." Meanwhile, in committee sessions on the future of the Social Security system, legislators were confronting how much old-age security the country was willing and able to pay for. In other hearing rooms, President Reagan's recommendations to trim domestic programs, from Medicare to child nutrition, were hotly debated.

In all these forums a consensus seemed to be emerging, an approach to government that might be called "compassionate efficiency," or perhaps, "efficient compassion." Few Congressmen seem willing to return to the Big Government philosophy long espoused by liberal Democrats. But there was an equal rejection of the Small Government ideology promoted for the last two years by the Reagan Administration and its supporters.

In his 1984 Budget Message, President Reagan made clear that he still believes he was elected with a mandate to diminish the power of government. "My Administration," he declared last week, "seeks to limit the size, intrusiveness and cost of Federal activities as much as possible." Neither Democrats nor Republicans doubt his words. On taxes, they point to his fervent defense of indexing, the 1981 tax cut provision that would prevent tax rates from rising with inflation and thus severely limit future Government revenues. As for spending, the defense share would increase by \$25 billion. The assault on programs for poor people continues. But even greater cuts in "middle-class" programs such as Medicare and Civil Service pensions are proposed.

This lesser-services mentality has shaped the capital's approach to the budget; everybody seems to be wearing a green eyeshade, at least for show. But there is

also a growing sense that the mandate of 1980 might have been overdrawn. Mr. Reagan campaigned against waste, fraud and abuse, and many voters thought he would cut their taxes by throwing checks off welfare. They were not voting against student loans for their children. "The bottom line is that the American people are motivated by self-interest," says Richard B. Cheney of Wyoming, third-ranking Republican in the House. "They believe in fiscal responsibility as long as you cut the other guy's subsidy."

Moreover, the economic slump of the last two years has forced many conservatives to conclude that Government has a significant role to play in economic revival. "There's a feeling that something has to be done," said an aide to the Senate Republican leadership. "The economy is not going to fix itself." The economic judgment is reinforced by a political one. In advocating greater government efforts to aid the unemployed, Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, the new general chairman of the Republican Party, said: "We have not related to the working stiff as well as we should. Willingly or not, we've reinforced our country-club image."

Yet for all their concern about vulnerable Americans, the lawmakers cannot avoid a brutal fact of life: the Federal deficit, which was projected at \$188 billion in the President's budget for fiscal year 1984. The entitlement programs, such as Medicare and food stamps, automatically pay benefits to qualified citizens, and cannot be controlled by yearly appropriations. Many Democrats agree with Representative James G. Martin, Republican of North Carolina, when he says that entitlements "are growing faster than we can manage."

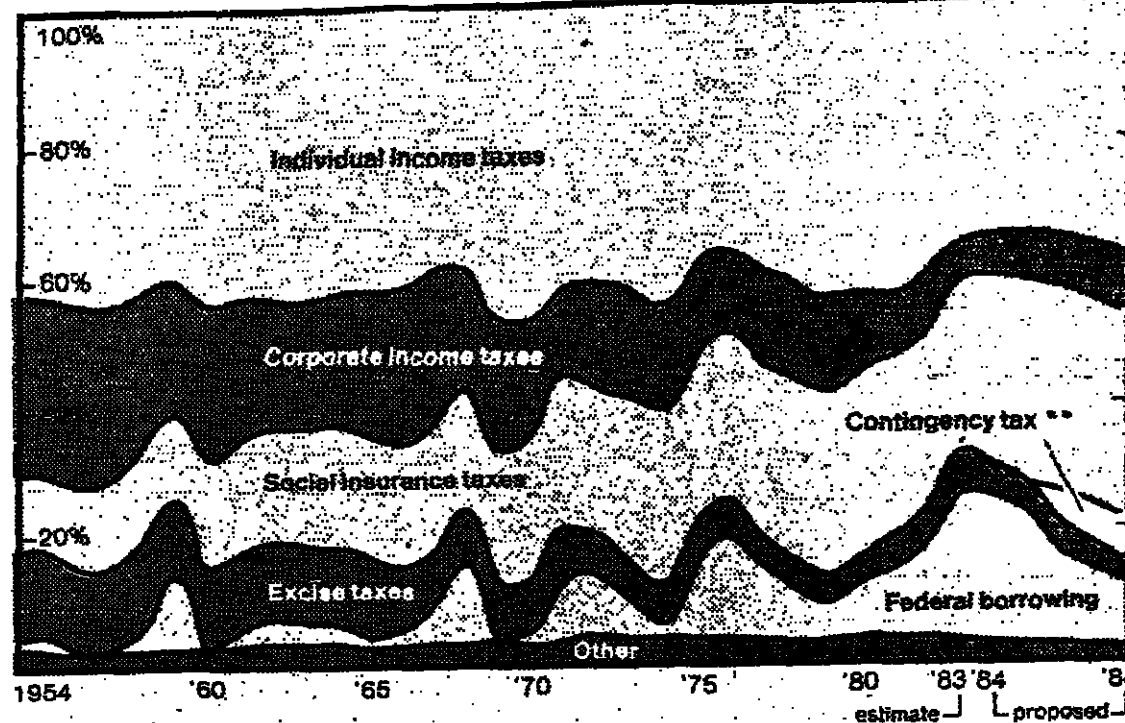
The first breakthrough came last month, when a national commission agreed to a package of reforms in Social Security that embodies the essence of compassionate efficiency. The core of the pension program was preserved intact, but delays were introduced for cost-of-living increases. The question facing the legislators now is whether this prudence can be extended to the rest of the nation's agenda as Congress works its way toward its first budget resolution, mandated for May 15.

Several points of agreement already seem clear. The military budget will be reduced below the level requested by President Reagan. The only question is how deep the cuts will be and where they will come. The White House proposal for a standby tax to begin in 1986 has been declared dead by most lawmakers, but some alternative revenue measures are likely. Some form of jobs legislation seems assured; though the unemployment rate dipped nearly half a percentage point last month, uncertainty remains about whether the recession has reached bottom, as the President maintains. The fate of the Administration's assault on other domestic programs is also uncertain; recent New York Times/CBS polls show that only 29 percent favor further rips in the safety net. Even Senator Laxalt, the President's closest friend on Capitol Hill, affirms that government "has a moral responsibility" to care for the needy.

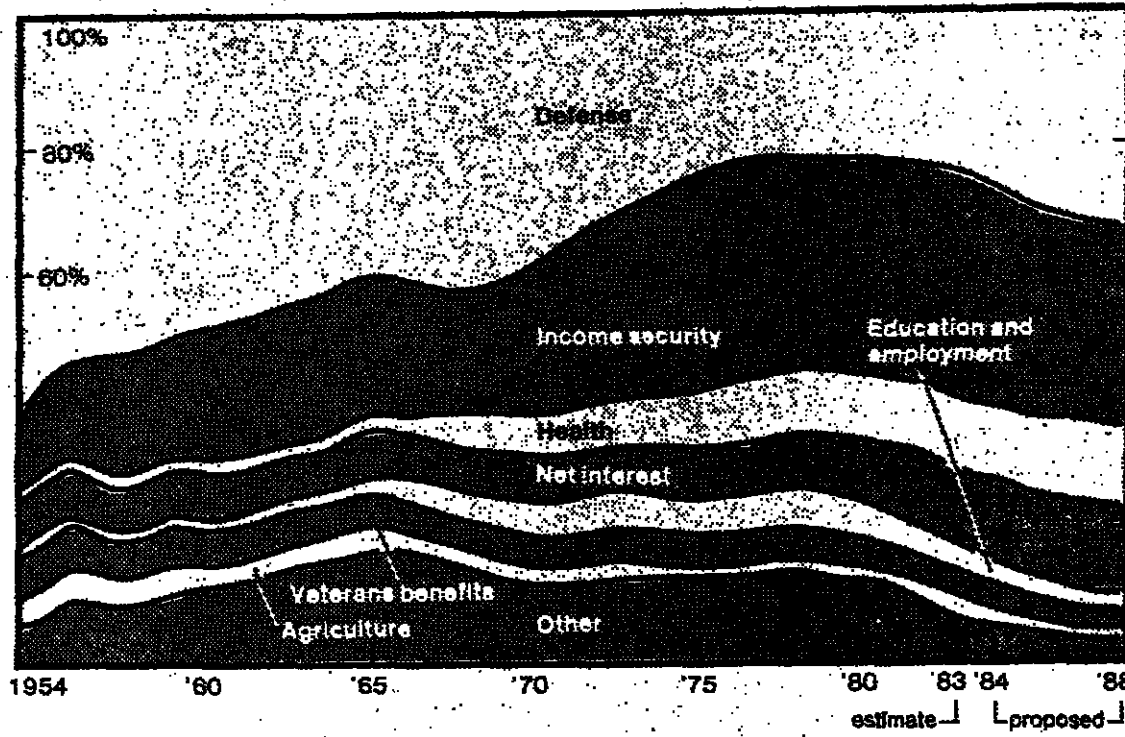
Shifting priorities

Federal income and outlays as percent of budget; figures for fiscal year 1984 and beyond are the proposals President Reagan made last week

Where it comes from ...



... and how it is spent



** Administration-proposed tax would take effect if deficit was not below two and one-half percent of G.N.P.

At Stake, Perhaps, Is the Growth Potential of the Entire Economy

Social Security Still Needs Long-Term Care

By H. ERICH HEINEMANN

SOCIAL Security is not going to be the same. That much, but little more, was evident last week in the preliminary skirmishes over the \$188 billion bipartisan plan to rescue Social Security from bankruptcy.

There was wide agreement that the compromise proposed last month by President Reagan's National Commission on Social Security Reform would pass Congress. As Robert A. Beck, chairman of the Prudential Insurance Company and a member of the commission, put it, "The opponents are coming from all sides; they'll cancel each other out." President Reagan and Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the Democratic Speaker of the House, have made plain their desire to be rid of the Social Security issue.

But adoption of the commission's report may be only the beginning of a new and potentially stormy chapter in the history of the program, which today provides some 36 million Americans with average monthly benefits about \$370. A weak economy and a benefit formula that allowed payments to rise much faster than tax revenues has depleted the Social Security trust fund, setting the stage for the current crisis.

The commission did not deal with the financing problems of Federal medical insurance programs, which were outside its purview. Nor did it fully address the shortfall in Social Security revenues expected after 2010, when the

number of retirees is projected to rise sharply in relation to the working age population.

At stake are not only the well-being of older Americans, but also perhaps the long-term growth potential of the economy. The basic question is how much income workers are willing to give up to finance retirement benefits. Unresolved problems remain in four major areas:

- The commission's recommendations, which call for a mixture of higher taxes, reduced growth in benefits, and accounting legerdemain, may be inadequate to meet the program's needs during 1985, 1986 and 1987. Robert J. Meyers, executive director of the commission, said additional steps were needed, including standby authority for further tax increases and benefit cuts.

- Critics complain that financing of Social Security from general Treasury revenues, rather than from specially earmarked Social Security taxes, plays a significant role in the commission's compromise plan. This, in Mr. Beck's view, creates an "obviously harmful" precedent. Conservatives have opposed general revenue financing for Social Security because they believe that the explicit link at present between benefits and taxes acts to limit growth in the program. Liberals dislike the idea because Social Security has traditionally been outside the Government's normal budget process.

- There is no agreement on how to handle the huge Social Security liabilities for benefits that are projected for the next century. Democrats on the commission proposed

raising taxes; the Republicans generally advocated gradually raising the retirement age from 65 to 66 or 68.

- Economists have reached no consensus on the long-term economic effects of using the Social Security system to redistribute trillions of dollars from workers to retirees. Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, says his research suggests that the growth of Social Security has depressed individual savings. In his view, this has contributed significantly to a decline in net investment in the American economy. He believes this might be remedied by creating incentives for increased savings and investment.

In contrast, Henry J. Aaron, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former adviser to President Carter, says the "evidence falls grossly short of establishing the size, or even the direction, of the effects of Social Security on capital formation."

The dispute between Mr. Feldstein and Mr. Aaron may be arcane, but it goes to the heart of a major question in the Social Security debate: Is it better for the Social Security trust funds to be conduits for the redistribution of income, as at present, or to accumulate cash to invest in the economy, as do private pension plans?

The National Commission says in its report that it "considered but rejected" proposals to make Social Security a voluntary program or one in which benefits flow exclusively from contributions. But some members say the decision to rule out structural changes in the program

was mainly political. One member said their differences were so great that "there was no way to address those questions, and still deal with the short-run problems."

The conservative members included the commission's chairman, Alan Greenspan, who headed the Council of Economic Advisers under President Ford; and Senator William Armstrong of Colorado and Representative William Archer of Texas, Republicans. Liberals included Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Representative Claude Pepper of Florida, both Democrats, and Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO.

Conservative or liberal, most remained concerned about the prospect of yet another Social Security crisis, even if the commission's plan is enacted. "We have proposed a system that will solve the financial problems except under exceptionally poor economic conditions over the next two years," Mr. Greenspan said. Barring that, "we are probably home free for a number of years."

But Mr. Meyers and Mr. Beck, among others, were sufficiently concerned to argue for significant changes in the compromise package that would create a "fail-safe" situation. Mr. Meyers's proposals included imposing limits on cost-of-living adjustments beginning in 1984 instead of 1986, as the commission proposed.

Representative Archer, who dissented from the compromise recommendations, argued that \$74 billion, or 44 percent of the \$168 billion package presented by the commission, reflects either direct or indirect financing of Social Security with general revenues from the Treasury. Mr. Meyers's calculations place the share of general revenue financing in the package at about \$10 billion. Either way, said Mr. Archer, "we're changing the face of Social Security permanently."

The Nation

A Man Could Get Hurt Out There

Trucking is never a genteel occupation; last week, it became a deadly one. Thousands of independent drivers pulled off the roads in a strike to protest higher Federal taxes. Hundreds of those who didn't were harassed, some with gunfire, and one was killed.

On the first day of the strike, Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis estimated that 20 percent of the country's 100,000 long-haul independent drivers parked their rigs, while Michael Parkhurst, president of the 30,000-member Independent Truckers Association, put the total at 50 to 70 percent. By week's end, it appeared that many truckers were running only by daylight to cut the risk of ambush from overpass or roadside.

Independents account for about 20 percent of drivers, but they haul a disproportionately large share of some types of freight — especially fresh produce. A spokesman for the Department of Transportation estimated a 15 percent decrease in truck traffic at New York City's Hunts Point Market, though increased deliveries by rail were forestalling shortages for the time being.

A 5-cents-a-gallon increase in the Federal fuel tax set for April 1, and higher equipment excise taxes and user fees prompted the work stoppage. Mr. Parkhurst said the new fuel and transportation levies signed by President Reagan would require the industry to pay more in taxes than it had made in profits in the last four years. But both the American Trucking Association and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters — whose members do not own their rigs — opposed the strike.

A spokesman for the independent

truckers said they were "happy with what's been going on so far, except for the violence." More than 1,600 incidents, including about 500 shootings, were reported in 40 states. A half-dozen bills to alter the tax package have been introduced, but Mr. Reagan said he would not bow to demands to repeal the taxes.

Mobile Gives In On City Elections

Leaders of Mobile, Ala. have gone to great lengths, and to the Supreme Court, in defense of at-large elections that effectively block black representation by diluting the minority vote. After seven years, the city called it quits last week and presented Federal Judge Virgil Pittman with a proposal for electing city commissioners by district.

Although district lines have yet to be drawn and the next election date set, Judge Pittman and black community leaders liked what they saw: a plan to elect one commissioner from each of three districts and require them to work in concert. Three commissioners currently split municipal responsibilities into public safety, finance and public works.

"We had little choice," said Rick Stout, the city attorney. "The courts found at-large elections discriminatory both in effect and intent." In revising the 1965 Voting Rights Act last year, Congress said Federal judges



Truck hit by gunfire near Lisbon, Ohio last week.

need consider only the discriminatory effect of an electoral system, not its intent.

The courts had already ruled Mobile's at-large system unconstitutional because it worked to shut off minority participation. In the commission's 72-year history, blacks, who constitute 40 percent of Mobile's 200,000 residents, had never been elected to it. But in 1980, the Supreme Court said electoral systems were unconstitutional only if adopted with discriminatory purposes in mind.

Back went the case to Judge Pittman, who in April ruled that Mobile's at-large scheme was part of a pattern of discriminatory practices rooted in the 19th century.

You Heard It From Him First

Senator Alan Cranston is generally considered to be at a disadvantage to younger, better-known contenders

for the Democratic Presidential nomination. So he gave himself a headstart last week, becoming the first major candidate to declare.

The liberal Californian made it clear that whatever routes the others took, he was making an early bid for the inside lane on nuclear issues. Supporting a freeze and new arms talks, he said he aimed to bring the nation "out of the shadow of nuclear war" and revive the economy by ending the "shamefully expensive arms race."

Senator Cranston acknowledged that he was less a national figure than such unannounced candidates as, say, former Vice President Walter Mondale and Senator John Glenn of Ohio, but said his home state backing was the best base any candidate had. Maybe so, but other California Democrats said Mr. Cranston didn't necessarily have a permanent claim to that support.

While Mr. Cranston is younger than the man whose job he wants, some questioned whether his age, 68, might nevertheless be a political liability. The Senator, who held national hundred-yard-dash records for his age group 12 years ago, didn't think so.

Certainly his fund-raising ability hasn't diminished. The Leadership Circle, an organization he created in 1981 to raise campaign money for Senate Democrats, had come up with \$3.4 million by the end of last year.

Caroline Rand Herrold, Carlyle C. Douglas, and Michael Wright

The World

Israel, Lebanon Will Talk Faster As Risks Rise

With the risks and penalties of delay increasingly apparent, Israel and Lebanon last week agreed to speed up their talks on withdrawal of foreign forces. The negotiators will hold three plenary meetings this week instead of two.

Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, impatient at Lebanon's refusal to accept a permanent Israeli presence to seek out Palestinian enemies in southern Lebanon, reportedly threatened to cut off Israeli support for the Christian Phalangist militia. Mr. Sharon met Pierre Gemayel, the Phalangist leader, and complained that his son, President Amin Gemayel, was taking orders from Syria, Saudi Arabia and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Not so, the elder Gemayel said.

Yesterday, in the second attack in nine days on a P.L.O. headquarters in Lebanon, the main Palestinian office in Beirut was blown apart. A car bomb set the building afire, killing more than a dozen people and injuring at least 60 others.

On other disputed terrain, an American marine captain brandished a loaded pistol and jumped onto an Israeli tank before its commander could be persuaded to back off from the edge of marine-patrolled territory in South Beirut. The State Department protested to Israel and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said the marine, Capt. Charles Johnson, should be commended for standing up to "threatening moves." Israeli officials had a different version, calling the encounter "a sad joke" in a location that would continue under Israeli jurisdiction. Then, to head off more such clashes, Israeli and American commanders in Beirut agreed to mark a formal boundary.

Closing the Gap On Namibia

Periodically, the logjam holding up an accord on South-West Africa has seemed to be breaking up, only to form again. Last week, a State Department memorandum indicated fresh hope for a settlement that could lead to the territory's becoming the independent state of Namibia.

According to the memorandum, the two key players — Angola, which borders the territory, and South Africa, which rules it — might be ready to accept "reciprocal actions." These would allow for the withdrawal of some 20,000 Cuban troops from Angola while South Africa withdrew between 15,000 and 20,000 troops from South-West Africa as well as the 500 to 1,500 troops it has in southern Angola chasing guerrillas from the South-West Africa People's Organization. Angola has rejected a more formal linkage between the Cuban and South African withdrawals.

Washington's hopes of getting Cuba out of Africa appear partly based on the belief that Angola is tiring of devoting most of its foreign exchange earnings to the troops and East European military and civilian advisers. Adding to the relative optimism is Angolan interest in a truce plan presented by South Africa in December at a meeting in the Cape Verde Islands. It proposed a cease-fire in southern Angola, with all forces remaining in place. After two months, Cuban forces would move north to points no closer than 185 miles from

the border. Swap insurgents would move even farther away while South African forces would be pulled back to Namibia in preparation for a wider agreement on withdrawal.

On Maneuvers In Honduras

The Administration last week drew further attention to its growing military involvement in Central America by dispatching more than 1,000 troops to help Honduran forces try out American-supplied weapons and communications equipment warfare along the Nicaraguan border.

Officials said the American role was strictly noncombative. But 75 members of Congress warned, in a bipartisan protest to President Reagan, that the maneuvers too closely resembled a possible dress rehearsal. They complained of a "pattern of escalating United States military involvement" and registered concern about "reported covert operations intended to destabilize the Nicaraguan Government." American military aid to Honduras was tripled last year to \$33.1 million and Pentagon aides say Honduras needs \$100 million more. Washington has accused Nicaragua of helping Cuba support Marxist revolutionaries in Central America, especially El Salvador.

Nicaragua said anti-Sandinist commandos, which it contends are "financed and used by the United States," had killed 92 people on the Nicaraguan side of the border in the last month. Managua claimed its forces killed 73 rightist commandos last weekend in two encounters near the Honduran frontier.

In El Salvador last week, an American Army sergeant was shot and wounded while flying on a Salvadoran "tactical operation." The American Embassy said he had violated standing orders. Yesterday, it sent three other military advisers home for similar violations.

Arrest Is Fatal In Suriname

In tiny, isolated Suriname, 15 of the most prominent citizens were dragged from their beds in December on suspicion of plotting against the military ruler, Lieut. Col. Desi Bouterse. They were beaten, mutilated, then killed "while trying to escape," as the official account put it.

Last Sunday, alleging more plotting, the Government rounded up about 20 others, including the second ranking army officer, Maj. Roy Horb, who was found hanged in his cell four days later. A suicide, the state radio said. The fate of the other prisoners, including two Government ministers under house arrest, was not immediately announced.

So go life and death in the former Dutch colony on the northern coast of South America where, ignored by the outside world, 350,000 people used to live in peace. Then-Sergeant Bouterse came to power in a coup in 1980 directed against corrupt officials who allowed streets to go dirty and paths unraked. Turning to more global matters, the colonel moved to the left and established close ties with Cuba. Freedom of speech and press have been suppressed and fear is pervasive. The colonel insists that he has been acting like "a real patriot and revolutionary."

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Gintler

Six Soviet Wonders

"Nobody is unemployed, but nobody works. Nobody works but everybody is paid. Everybody is paid but there is nothing to buy. There is nothing to buy but nobody lacks for what he needs. Nobody lacks for what he needs, but everybody complains. Everybody complains, but when it comes time to vote everybody votes yes."

These are the six wonders of the Soviet Union as described by local wags. Ever since he took over the Kremlin, Yuri Andropov has implicitly recognized some truth in the joke even if he does not think it's funny. Last week, he continued his crusade for a new work ethic with a speech at a Moscow machine tool factory denouncing malingering, absenteeism and other forms of goofing off that help to account for low labor productivity and high wage costs. The Soviet leader's efforts to launch a real labor revolution was more than rhetorical. Since the beginning of the year, police have been engaged in "Operation Trawl," hauling in people who spend some or all of their working hours in shops, markets, beer halls and Turkish baths.

You can't expect well-stocked shops if you don't produce. Mr. Andropov told the workers. But Russians feel they are caught in a vicious circle: Many desert offices and assembly lines for buying queues in hope of getting scarce items. Stores have been ordered to stay open longer so people can get to them before or after work. The police raids and identity checks also aroused anger, particularly among older Russians, because they brought back memories of Stalin's rule and, in many Soviet cities, of the Nazi occupation.

More resentment may be in the offing. Mr. Andropov suggested that wages were out of line with productivity and indicated that prices of heavily subsidized staples like bread might be increased to better reflect costs. Appealing to patriotism, he said "the better our national production, the stronger will be our international position." Discipline, he warned, "applies to everyone, starting with ministers" and including one important bureaucrat who was reported to have been caught in a bathhouse during office hours and photographed naked by the police.

Reagan Sends Two Emissaries to All the Right Places

In Europe, Bush Seeks To Keep Allies in Line

By JOHN VINOCUR

GENEVA

JOHN Adams was on to something. The job, he said, talking about being Vice President, was "the most insignificant" ever contrived by man. Whatever the opinion of George Bush, the task he undertook last week — that of talking up Ronald Reagan as the great arms reducer to the European allies — was far from meaningless. But it did require a sense of lowered expectations.

The lines in Europe are so strongly drawn in the missile debate that Mr. Bush was essentially aiming at the thin margins of public opinion. Trying to talk away a couple of years in which the President was frequently cast here — sometimes with gross malice — as a confrontationist and a nuclear wild man, meant speaking mainly to Europeans who either thought the description hysterical or who accepted it as accurate.

At best, from the point of view of the Administration and the governments that feel close to it in the North Atlantic alliance, the Bush trip was an operation with low-yield potential. The people who felt their neighbors needed reassurance about the United States' peaceful intentions would see them get it, of course. But the hard cases, those who believe the Soviet Union would behave more charmingly if only the Americans forgot about deploying those cruises and Pershings, would go on holding the United States responsible for the world's tensions.

Mr. Bush, who made no bones about the public relations part of his assignment, may have understood it all in his prime test market, West Germany, just hours after he announced President Reagan's offer to Yuri V. Andropov to sign a treaty banning ground-launched intermediate missiles. The speech was at 8 P.M. At 10:30, one of the main West German television news programs began with a heavily ironic commentary on Mr. Bush's trip before mentioning, with irony turning into contempt, that Mr. Reagan was offering a summit on a proposition already rejected.

"Nobody ever doubted that Reagan was ready to sign an agreement that completely corresponded to all his demands," said the Frankfurter Rundschau, a newspaper close to the Social Democratic Party. "The meeting with the Soviet negotiators in Geneva fits into the category of publicity stunts," said the weekly Die Zeit, prejudging on Wednesday conversations that took place Friday.

That was expected. The other side was predictable too. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, which believes in NATO and, most days, in the United States, talked about the "decisive intelligence" expressed by the Vice President's face, and the notion that finally, the Americans had explained the blackmail character of the SS-20 missile. Helmut Kohl, the Christian Democratic Chancellor found, to no one's surprise, that the Americans had retaken the moral high ground. Some place in the middle were people like the

French who, not having to deploy anyone else's missiles, are ready to remind the newly recalcitrant German Social Democratic Party that their Helmut Schmidt had asked for the American missiles in 1979. Les Echos, the Paris business newspaper, said the Bush trip at least got the Americans on the nuclear show biz scoreboard: "Reagan one, Andropov one," it wrote.

These were the atmospherics. In terms of more tangible politics, Mr. Bush could report achieving the same rough split. The French, for example, liked the Vice President's reaffirmation that there was no way the national strategic forces of France and Britain, some 162 warheads outside the NATO command, would be taken into account in Geneva. This rejected the current Soviet bargaining position cutting SS-20's back to the level of the combined French-British systems if the alliance foregoes its scheduled deployment of 572 Pershing-2 and cruise missiles toward the end of the year. In the Low Countries, Mr. Bush got some good news at least from the Belgians who made more positive noises than usual about deploying 48 cruise missiles in a couple of years.

Less encouraging, but expected, was that after initially polite nods, the West German Social Democrats and some members of the Free Democratic Party, both running hard in the March 6 na-

tional elections, said the Vice President failed to bring any substantive new elements to the missile talks. After Bonn, Berlin, the Hague and Brussels, Mr. Bush used the Geneva stop to emphasize to Soviet arms negotiators that the United States was "deadly serious" about achieving reductions. He asked them to give that message to "the leadership in Moscow." Earlier, in West Berlin, Mr. Bush said the summit offer should dispel "some feeling that the President was unwilling to meet with Mr. Andropov." The Vice President will complete his tour this week in Paris and London before returning to Washington Thursday.

Mr. Bush did very little public talking about the non-public relations part of his job — a canvass of the allies on how they think the United States negotiating position should develop. In his daily news conferences, the Vice President kept stressing the morality of the zero solution — dropping deployment if the Russians scrap all their medium-range systems. But it was done in a way that did not preclude what the Europeans seem to want — a new bargaining position based on a readiness to lower the deployment numbers if the Soviets will talk about cuts too.

Whether the bargaining positions are called the interim, the intermediate, the zero plus, the step-by-step or the evolutive, Mr. Bush is duty-bound to take them back to Washington. The Vice President's aides insist they are not getting suggestions of specific deals and numbers from the allies, but it was certain Mr. Bush was repeatedly told that Western Europe doesn't want to handle an all-or-nothing solution. If Mr. Bush gets this attitude across to the Reagan Administration, he may be remembered for his 12 days in Europe in the year of the missile more as a diplomat than a public relations man.



Vice President Bush being greeted by Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers (right) in The Hague last week.



Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian toasting each other at a banquet in Peking last week.

Shultz Keeps the Lines Open in Asia

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

PEKING

AS they were seated in the Great Hall of the People for the start of their meeting Friday, Secretary of State George P. Shultz told Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang that he had to express some disappointment. Before Mr. Zhao could inquire, Mr. Shultz said, "I invested in a new fur hat and haven't been able to wear it because it is so warm."

Everyone laughed, and another Shultz session began, as had most of the others on this trip to Japan, China and South Korea, on a relaxed, easy-going note. The purpose of Mr. Shultz's first mission to Asia as Secretary of State has been just what it has seemed: an effort to ease tensions, eliminate misunderstandings wherever possible, and move relations ahead in perceptible but undramatic steps.

If Vice President Bush is trying to demonstrate as publicly as possible in Western Europe the American commitment to peace, Mr. Shultz is working the Asian side of the world in more private ways, particularly in the Chinese capital where the personal chemistry between leaders is often as important as the issues at hand.

Every Secretary of State has brought to the job an approach conditioned by his prior career. Henry A. Kissinger, the balance-of-power historian, conducted his own travels as a global strategist, trying to shape alliances and weaken adversaries. Cyrus R. Vance, the Wall Street lawyer, stressed the importance of seeking written agreements and negotiating word by word until a satisfactory balance could be struck. Alexander M. Haig Jr., the former NATO Supreme Commander, enjoyed talking in strategic terms and using the hyperbole of military commanders in describing his objectives and accomplishments.

Mr. Shultz, who doffed his fur hat later when

China's weather changed, cannot escape his background as a labor-management mediator and international economist. Overseas and in Washington, he stresses the importance of understanding each side's concerns, listening carefully and trying to offer reasoned alternatives. He recognizes that it often takes time to bring about change and that meanwhile, a rationale must be found to persuade others to show flexibility.

In Japan, his goal was to continue the courting of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone that began when Mr. Nakasone was in Washington last month. He did this by praising him publicly and privately, putting forth arguments to convince the Japanese establishment to carry out the economic and military measures promised by Mr. Nakasone under pressure from the United States.

Speaking on Tuesday in Tokyo to the Keidanren, the Japanese organization of corporate titans, Mr. Shultz said, "I don't have to belabor the point with this group that it's critical for all of us that the world trading system maintain its health." He noted that Japan has been viewed in many countries as "not being truly open to competition from abroad." He then said he was certain that Mr. Nakasone means to carry out his pledge to open the Japanese marketplace.

No threats, just a reminder of American concerns and a call on the Japanese to help keep the world system working. Similarly, on defense matters, Mr. Shultz did not demand an increase in Japanese spending, but warmly welcomed Mr. Nakasone's promises to take responsibility for defending Japan's air and sea lanes. And he won praise for promising the Japanese that no arms control accord with the Russians would be made at Tokyo's expense.

In China, the problems were more complicated. In meetings with Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, Prime Minister Zhao, Defense Minister Zhang Aiping and others, Mr. Shultz listened to their con-

cerns that the United States might not carry out its pledge to phase out arms sales to Taiwan, and gave a commitment to live up to last August's agreement.

To China's complaints that modern American technology was not arriving fast enough, he replied that the number of export permits was rising but that some items with military application took time to resolve. He made no effort to talk about broad strategic relationships as Mr. Kissinger used to do with Zhou Enlai, but did softly suggest to Defense Minister Zhang that high-level military contacts, suspended since Mr. Reagan took office, be resumed. Mr. Zhang agreed even though arms sales are still in the future.

Mr. Shultz got uncharacteristically snappish just once — with American businessmen in Peking, perhaps because he felt they were undercutting his position with the Chinese. When the businessmen complained they were losing sales because Washington was slower with export licenses than Japan and West Germany, Mr. Shultz shot back, "Why don't you move to Japan or Western Europe?"

Both Mr. Shultz and the Chinese leaders who, in unusual fashion, met with the American press, seemed relaxed about relations. They agree on some things like Afghanistan and Cambodia, differ on the Middle East and southern Africa, and have problems on a variety of bilateral relations. But the tensions that existed before Mr. Shultz arrived seem to have eased for the moment as the two countries adjust to a new relationship in which there will be fewer expectations but fewer disappointments as well. "We depart having set the stage for renewed advances built on a stronger foundation of confidence and mutual trust," Mr. Shultz said before leaving for South Korea.

As one sign of a better climate, Prime Minister Zhao announced he had accepted an invitation from President Reagan to visit the United States this year at a date to be determined.

Gardner Cowles Looks Back at Look



The New York Times/Maryann K. Yeo

He spent hours with Stalin, knew President Hoover well.

By N. R. KLEINFELD

HE was finishing up his morning reading, browsing among the 40 magazines and four daily papers that still cross his desk. There were no editorial meetings on tap; after all, Look, the faded picture magazine he guided for 30 odd years, was gone. Calls from the President, powwows with world leaders? There were none of those now.

Gardner (Mike) Cowles turned 80 last week, long retired from his publishing domain, but the "Iowa liberal" has hardly given up observing the world's events and dispensing reminiscences and opinions. Ronald Reagan, he says, "puts too much emphasis on the Communist menace." Newspapers "are better now than they were 20 years ago." If Nikita S. Khrushchev "had come to the U.S. as a child, say the way David Saroff did,

I think he would have ended up the head of a big company or a governor."

For decades, Mike Cowles reigned along with his older brother, John, as two of the most influential press lords of their day. Their hegemony embraced The Des Moines Register and Tribune, The Minneapolis Star and Tribune, a string of smaller papers, television and radio stations, book publishers and magazines, most notably Look, the big-page picture magazine once a habit with almost eight million Americans.

Mike Cowles's Rockefeller Center office today is a welcoming place. From it, he spends a few months a year tending his Cowles Charitable Trust, which doles out some \$250,000 a year to what he calls "fairly conventional" causes, such as museums and colleges.

He has seen a world rocked by much turmoil, but remains gay-spirited. "It's more fun to be an optimist," he

The Economy

said. He likes a saying of his father: "Once I was young. Now I'm old. I've had many troubles — most of them never happened."

His father, Gardner Cowles Sr., a banker and former school superintendent in Iowa, began the family enterprise by buying The Des Moines Register in 1903. He later added the evening Tribune and molded them into two of the nation's most admired papers.

Fresh out of Harvard in 1925, Mike Cowles became the Register's city editor ("You gotta remember, my father owned the newspaper"). He rose like a bird. As managing editor, he had his reporters begin to cover all of Iowa and the Middle West, using the paper's own planes.

Under the stewardship of the Cowles brothers, the family empire leapt from the Iowa cornfields to Minneapolis. Entranced by foreign affairs, the brothers infused their dailies with a worldly and cerebral view rather heretical to the Grain Belt.

Look magazine, though, was Mike Cowles's favorite. He began it in 1937, moving to New York to nurse it, and he expended most of his energies on it for the next 34 years. Initially, Look printed little that taxed the intellect and much that titillated. The first issue (promising "200 pictures... 1001 facts") boasted, among other saucy displays, a pictorial essay of Joan Crawford as a shotputter. In time, however, Look began to bore in on prickly issues and matured into one of the nation's hottest and most influential magazines.

"I'm very proud of the fact that Look devoted pages and pages to trying to improve relations with blacks, which I think is almost the No. 1 problem in the country," Mr. Cowles said. "I'm also proud that Look was first among national magazines to come out for birth control, for which we were roundly criticized."

By 1970, however, the biweekly Look was no longer prosperous. Advertisers had defected to TV. Costs soared. But Mr. Cowles dug in. He sold many Cowles holdings — including Family Circle magazine, a Memphis TV station and some Florida newspapers to The New York Times Company in an effort to rescue Look. It was to no avail. In 1971, he shut Look down. "I get readers still, 11 or 12 years since I killed Look, asking me why I don't revive it," he said wistfully. "But it wouldn't be successful."

Names dancing out of the past always intrude in Mr. Cowles's meditations. A talk with him is like riffling through a history book.

Stalin: "I spent several hours listening to Stalin, but I never felt I could understand him. I never knew what the hell he was thinking, regardless of what he was saying."

Churchill: "I thought he was a very competent world statesman with some limitations. They all have some limitations. Churchill did not have the vision to realize that the colonial system was passé and needed to be dismantled."

Evita Perón: "I think she was a crook in many ways. But she fascinated me because she had such a hold on the Argentine people. I think she was even more effective than Franklin Roosevelt in utilizing radio to mobilize support."

Lyndon Johnson: "Very crude. He invited me to lunch at the White House and before we had lunch he insisted on my going swimming with him nude in the White House pool. It shocked me."

What about the current man in the White House?

"I like Mr. Reagan very much personally. I've been disappointed in his Administration to date. But this is a worldwide depression we're in and I do not blame Mr. Reagan for the depression. When I was a young man just out of college, I knew Herbert Hoover very well. I don't think Hoover was responsible for the Great Depression, yet he got blamed for it."

The sputtering economy has had a brutal effect on the current-day Cowles empire. Profits have been severely eroded. The companies have been retrenching. Cowles Media, which owns the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, has suffered a spate of reversals. Last year, it shut down the afternoon Star. Just two weeks ago, disquiet among board members triggered the departure of John Cowles Jr., his nephew, as chairman of Cowles Media and as publisher of The Minneapolis Tribune.

The sister communications company, The Register and Tribune Company in Des Moines, has been stung by losses; it merged the afternoon Tribune with the Register into one morning paper last fall in an effort to bolster its future. Meanwhile, Cowles Communications, which used to publish Look, was dissolved last year and its broadcasting subsidiary, which owns TV stations in Des Moines and Daytona Beach, spun off, with Mr. Cowles still its principal shareholder.

For his part, Mr. Cowles has shied away from getting mixed up in current doings of family members. He no longer holds any stock in the newspaper companies. As he put it, "I think it's a mistake for one generation that's basically retired to mastermind what another generation shall do."

The life of Mike Cowles has always had a flamboyant beat. He was married four times, and divorced three. He once flew from Germany to New York aboard the dirigible Hindenburg.

These days he and his wife, Jan, spend about four months a year in their home on Indian Creek Island in Surfside, Fla., four months in New York, two months at a summer home in Southampton, L.I., and two months crisscrossing Europe and California. He has three daughters and a son, who have minor stock holdings in the Minneapolis and Des Moines companies. His brother, John, is 83 and retired, living in Minneapolis. Mr. Cowles dashes off letters to him several times a week.

He described his regrets as few and minor: "I was not wise enough to realize the enormous impact that television was going to have on the country. I didn't get into television as early as I should have."

Anything else?

"I deeply regret that I don't speak French totally fluently. Traveling around the world, it greatly helps if you're fluent in a second language."

INVESTING / Fred R. Bleakley

It's Time to Overhaul the Portfolio

In the first year of an economic recovery, stocks outperform bonds by a big margin.

CENTURY Capital Associates, an investment counseling firm, decided recently to sell all its Government long-term bonds from the pool of more than \$1.6 billion that it manages. And Atlanta/Sosnoff Capital purged more than \$250 million in bonds from its \$1 billion portfolio, now almost entirely positioned in the stock market.

The two money managers are not alone these days in preferring stocks to bonds. A study by Goldman Sachs, published two weeks ago, found that since World War II, stocks have far outperformed bonds in the first 12 months of an economic recovery. During such periods, according to the study, the total annual return (increase in value plus income) on stocks has been an average of 31 percent and on bonds an average of 2 percent. Recoveries increase the demand for money and put upward pressure on interest rates. Bonds, with their fixed rates, then fall in value. Stocks, on the other hand, rise in anticipation of higher corporate earnings that accompany a recovery.

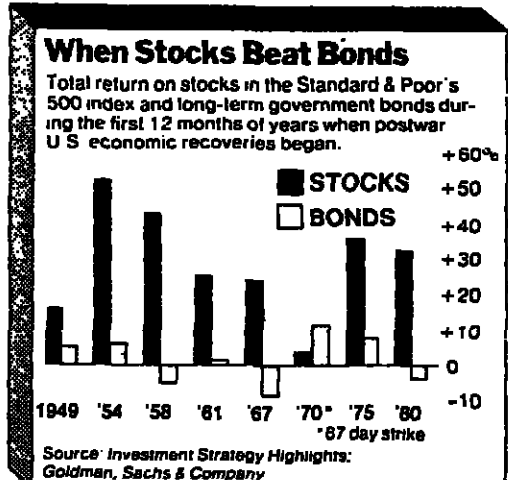
"It is virtually without precedent for bonds to outperform stocks in an economic recovery," said Leon Cooperman, chairman of the investment policy committee of Goldman, Sachs & Company. "To be bullish on bonds now is a very, very long-shot bet."

In the past few weeks the prices of long-term Government bonds have declined about 7.5 percent. In the stock market, such a drop would be termed merely a correction in the midst of an ongoing boom. But long-term fixed-income securities have been stalled since last fall, when concern over the Government deficit increased, and there is growing evidence that the money management community believes that even if the bond market must rally from time-to-time this year, its best days are behind.

It would be tough to beat last year's performance of bonds in any economic environment. The Salomon Brothers index of long-term Government bonds returned 41.03 percent in 1982 and the AAA/AA long-term corporate bonds returned 43.7 percent, compared with a 20.4 percent total return for the Standard & Poor's 500 stock index.

But even before the year ended, the money managers had begun peeling back their bond holdings. Of \$186 billion in pension fund assets monitored by the Funds Evaluation division of Warburg, Paribas & Co., A.G., equities represented 53.1 percent at year-end, up 7.4 percent from six months earlier. Most of that rise came from an increase in the value of the stocks in the portfolios as the market boomed, but 1.8 percent resulted from a

Fred R. Bleakley writes on finance from New York.



manager-directed change from bonds and cash to stocks. And virtually all of that 1.8 percent move occurred in the fourth quarter, according to Gale Adams, a Becker spokesman.

GOLDMAN, SACHS began recommending minimal exposure to bonds in November after having been bullish for more than a year. To be bullish on bonds, Mr. Cooperman said, an investor would have to anticipate one of three scenarios: that there would not be an economic recovery "of consequence" this year, that there would be a major drop in the price of oil or that there would be a significant change in Government fiscal policy. In the first case, the Fed would probably step in and push rates down further, which would make bonds more attractive. A drop in oil prices, the second scenario, would help the bond market by bringing down inflation and interest rates with it. If the Government were to change fiscal policy to reduce deficits — the third possibility — people might feel more confident that inflation would remain curbed, which would also make bonds an attractive investment.

A MINORITY VIEW: BEWARE THE FED!

Raymond Armstrong, chairman of the Starwood Corporation, which manages \$450 million and the \$740,000 blind trust that President Reagan set up, isn't enchanted with the overall prospects of either the stock or bond market.

Mr. Armstrong is bullish, however, on stocks that emphasize high income and on convertible securities, which offer the high-income characteristics of a bond or preferred stock. He predicted that they would produce a total return of 20 percent this year.

They include utilities (such as Commonwealth Edison), convertible debentures (Tex-

Marshall Front, a partner with Stein Roe & Farnham, a Chicago investment manager of \$8 billion, does not foresee these possibilities; he predicted that equities would perform twice as well as bonds this year. He said his company is expecting a total return of nearly 21 percent for the average stock in the S. & P. 400 index, while long-term Government bonds will produce a return of about 11 percent. In a typical "balanced" account his company manages for pension funds or individual clients, the asset mix is 65 percent to 70 percent equities, 5 percent to 10 percent cash and the remainder in bonds, he said. Among the stocks Stein Roe favors are Avnet and Granger, electrical equipment companies whose components could be used to increase productivity at other companies.

Even though long-term Government bonds could gain anywhere from 0 percent to 15 percent this year, according to Martin Sosnoff, chairman of Atlanta/Sosnoff, he said he believes that stocks will clearly outperform them. His portfolio is heavily involved in drug and media stocks, among others.

Others see opportunities in both stocks and bonds. James Harpel, a partner with Century Capital, considering reinvesting in long-term bonds. He may do so, he said, because bonds have already undergone "a fair-sized correction." Mr. Harpel said that stocks are increasingly vulnerable as the market nears the 1,100 level on the Dow and as rising bond rates make stocks relatively less attractive.

Even more bullish on bonds is Trevor Stewart Burton & Jacobsen, which has been almost entirely invested in long-term Government securities for a year now, although it has discretion to structure its \$150 million in assets in equities and shorter term fixed-income securities as well. It is sticking to its guns, Paul Trevor, the chairman, said, because real interest rates (the portion of the interest rates above the inflation rate) remain high.

"The cause of the recession — high real interest rates — is still with us," said Mr. Trevor. "This makes borrowing unattractive for consumers as well as corporations. As a result, the economy is unlikely to show much strength, which will lead to lower inflation and lower nominal interest rates. We like bonds."

tron and Allied Corporation), convertible preferreds (National Steel) and high-yield common stocks (Consolidated Foods and Beatrice Foods).

Money market securities also are not a Starwood favorite. Mr. Armstrong said he foresees "a painfully slow economic recovery" that will lead to three-month Treasury bill rates of 6 percent by June. Mr. Armstrong said he also expected increasing illiquidity problems in the long-term bond market. "With this Fed, I wouldn't touch a bond over five years for love nor money," said Mr. Armstrong. "Investors who do are naïve and they will be trapped."

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Unemployment Decreases to 10.2%

Unemployment dropped to 10.2 percent of the labor force in January from 10.8 percent in December. For the first time, the Government is including the military in the figures, and that adds 1.7 million to the employed side of the calculation. The rate for civilians alone, however, fell to 10.4 percent — the lowest since September and the first drop in unemployment in a year. President Reagan said he would study actions to speed Government construction projects to spur jobs.

Recovery sighted? Martin S. Feldstein, the President's economic adviser, said he detected stronger signs of recovery but underlined his caution. Paul A. Volcker, the Fed chairman, said he saw signs that a recovery may be taking its first steps. The Congressional Budget Office sees growth of 2.1 percent this year, while the White House is conservatively predicting just 1.4 percent.

Factory orders surged 4.8 percent in December, reflecting strong military orders. Construction spending rose 1.4 percent. Farm prices gained eight-tenths of a percent. For the year, sales of new single-family homes fell 5.3 percent, to the lowest level in 20 years.

Congress received President Reagan's fiscal 1984 budget proposals — a 9 percent rise in arms spending and

Bendix President Is Out of a Job

Stockholders last week approved the \$1.8 billion merger of the Bendix Corporation into the Allied Corporation, meaning that everyone involved in the hectic takeover can presumably take a breather now — except Alonzo L. McDonald Jr., (right) who lost his \$740,000 a year job in the aftermath. Mr. McDonald, president of Bendix, was told, according to sources close to Allied, that he was not needed and that William M. Agee, Bendix's chief executive, would run the Allied subsidiary. Mr. McDonald, 54, was staff director in the Carter White House. Separately, Allied reported that its profits fell 22 percent in the fourth quarter.



freezes or cuts in most domestic programs. Congress is expected to make major revisions.

Oil prices weakened. American companies cut by \$1 the price they will pay for standard-grade oil, to \$31 a barrel. The Soviet Union cut its prices, as did Egypt, putting more pressure on OPEC's official price structure. Gulf Oil trimmed purchases of North Sea oil, putting pres-

sure on British prices.

Stocks rose, with heavy buying Friday in technology issues. The Dow Jones industrial average finished up 13.16 points for the week, to 1,077.91.

The money supply rose \$2.7 billion in the latest reporting week.

New-car sales rose 10 percent in the Jan. 21-31 sales period, marking the

10th consecutive 10-day period of improved sales, the Big Three auto makers reported.

A G.M.-Toyota plan to assemble a subcompact car in the United States is causing alarm among competitors. G.M. calls the plan 90 percent certain.

Independent truckers began their strike, causing violence on the highway and problems for shippers, in protest of higher fuel and equipment taxes.

Retail sales were strong in January, compared with a weak selling period a year ago. Sales at Sears were up 5.5 percent, at K Mart 2 percent, J.C. Penney 0.2 percent. Federated Department Stores 16.2 percent and May Department Stores 17 percent.

Bankrupt won approval by a bankruptcy judge for a plan that would put some employees and planes back to work in a joint venture with PSA.

Pan Am's loss widened to \$27.9 million in the fourth quarter from \$25.8 million in the 1981. Still, its stock has surged on investor hopes of a 1983 turnaround. Its \$39 cut-rate fares will be dropped Feb. 10.

Thyssen and Krupp, the big West German steel makers, plan to merge their stainless and specialty steel operations.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS
WEEK ENDED FEBRUARY 4, 1983
(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Pan Am	9,403,100	5%	+ 1%
Exxon	5,908,300	29%	+ %
IntHarv	4,928,000	5%	+ 1%
IBM	4,007,700	97%	+ %
Alcan	3,992,200	28%	+ %
ATT	3,774,600	68%	- %
MesaO	3,773,300	1%	...
IntHrwt	3,517,800	2%	+ %
Schlmb	3,232,000	43%	- 2%
WmCm	3,122,700	32	+ 2%
StorTec	2,934,900	21%	- 1
SouthCo	2,632,800	15%	...
Texaco	2,568,800	31%	+ %
SHOHC	2,520,400	33%	+ %
Burgh	2,541,800	48	+ %

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Dome P	1,363,500	7/16	- 3/16
Wang	1,296,500	33%	+ %
Imp Ch	1,093,000	6	...
Beef Ch	823,000	7%	+ %
Ozark	773,200	14%	+ %
Amthl	722,800	39%	+ 5%
NtPatnt	708,700	.15%	- %
IntSyt	693,200	2%	...
Halcar	656,500	15%	+ 1%
MSI Dt	605,100	24%	- 11%

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Advances	1,183	958	...
Declines	768	1,014	...
Total Issues	2,157	2,173	...
New Highs	315	215	...
New Lows	9	7	...

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Total Sales	393,008,396	2,183,591,786	...
Same Per. 1982	248,963,680	1,217,351,177	...

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Advances	478	371	...
Declines	312	426	...
Total Issues	918	918	...
New Highs	143	91	...
New Lows	1	10	...

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Indust	96.84	93.85	+1.19
Transp	80.78	75.96	+4.83
Util	48.26	45.69	+2.57
Finance	84.78	83.48	+1.30
Composite	84.29	82.04	+2.25

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
400 Indust	185.3	158.4	+1.88
20 Transp	25.9	24.1	+1.08
40 Util	63.9	61.3	+2.61
40 Financial	18.3	15.7	+2.61
500 Stocks	146.6	140.9	+5.71

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
30 Indust	108.7	104.8	+3.91
20 Transp	489.8	454.8	+35.00
15 Util	125.5	122.9	+2.61
65 Comb	430.6	412.4	+18.20

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Total Sales	38,947,440	225,128,075
Same Per. 1982. . .	20,048,980	108,994,810

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
KYLE E. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1983

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TUPPING, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
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Must We Stagnate?

Reaganomics: After two years of sunny predictions and gloomy results, accented by cheerful supply-side nostrums, the term has become an embarrassment. Now the Reagan team is unfolding a new economic strategy, one that is sober, intelligent and consistent. But by expecting so little, the strategy risks returning even less. Bold steps, not a conservative shuffle, are now needed to lead the world economy out of stagnation.

The President's own brief Economic Report to Congress still clings to rationalizations and dreams: "A shortsighted view," he says, "was destroying our prospects for long-term prosperity. . . [T]he full effect of [my] changes in government policy will take time to develop." But the accompanying report of Martin Feldstein, the President's chief economic adviser, is more forthright. Without directly repudiating his boss's performance so far, it stresses government's poor economic record in recent years and offers only limited goals for the future.

Tight credit, says Mr. Feldstein, has brought down inflation, but it has also cut deeply into employment. And the celebrated Reagan tax cuts will hold future growth hostage: unless spending is cut drastically before the late 1980's, he writes, the ballooning Federal deficits will absorb every penny of private saving.

The Federal Reserve, he argues, must steer a narrow course between the Scylla of re-inflation and the Charybdis of stagnation. His highest fiscal priority is cutting spending, to reduce the "structural" deficit to manageable proportion. Firmness, he implies, would allow 1.4 percent growth in 1983 and, with great luck, 4 percent annually thereafter.

Sober realism certainly beats the free-lunch frenzy of yesteryear. But settling for such low expectations creates its own perils. If unemployment hovers near 10 percent through 1984 the worldwide clamor for protectionism in trade may be irresistible. Protectionism might mean a few jobs for American auto workers, but it would surely depress the living standards of hundreds of millions of consumers and workers, here and abroad.

Even if Mr. Reagan could persuade America and its trade partners to stay the course, the social costs would be enormous. Such persistent unemploy-

ment can scar this generation the way the Depression scarred our grandfathers. Hardest hit would be the poor — denied basic services by budget cuts yet left without hope of advancement in the job market.

Is there no alternative to the new Republican realism? One certain Democratic answer will be a stronger safety net for the poor. But that's just common decency, not a policy. A real alternative would have three themes:

□ **Big deficit now, lesser ones later.** The current \$200 billion deficit is the consequence of recession, not the cause. Less spending or higher taxes in 1983 or 1984 would only destroy more jobs. After a few years' rapid growth, however, the deficit would turn from friend to enemy.

So Mr. Reagan is right about one thing: big spending that largely benefits the middle class must eventually be controlled. But the same goes for new weapons procurement. And even so, by the late 1980's, tax revenues will have to be increased. That need not mean higher taxes across the board; rebuilding the tax base by eliminating exemptions could cut marginal rates.

□ **Lower interest rates.** Current interest rates retard recovery. The Federal Reserve would not have to run the money presses at full speed, but it could provide more credit to insure that interest rates would not rise even if the economy grew at a rate of 5 to 6 percent next year, rather than Mr. Feldstein's 1.4 percent.

□ **A real anti-inflation policy.** Everyone agrees that government has fed inflation; too many still contend it couldn't manage the reverse. But vigorous growth is simply not sustainable unless we squarely face the inflation curse. For one thing, that means an end of government subsidies to dairy farmers, shipbuilders and other privileged groups. For another, it requires government incentives to hold wages in line with productivity.

Conventional political wisdom holds that the only realistic choice lies between responsible conservatism and energetic reflation, between Martin Feldstein and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Perhaps. But the first requirement of broadening the choice is to recognize that neither is desirable. Americans must find a way to grow without inflation. The whole world is counting on it.

The Unwaged War in Salvador

Although the news is of real war, and shrewdly timed guerrilla thrusts, what should mainly concern Americans in El Salvador is the unwaged war: a political campaign to end this inconclusive struggle.

Grabbing a provincial city for three days was a psychological boost for an outnumbered guerrilla army; the Reagan Administration concedes as much. But this was no Civil War Gettysburg. The town of Berlin was promptly retaken, confirming again that the leftist insurgents are still challengers, not conquerors.

The offensive's real damage was political. Presumably it impressed, or at least intimidated, new sectors of the Salvadoran population and produced a new impulse to flee. And you could almost sense a new doubt spreading in Washington, which has been betting all along that an American-aided army, even if it cannot win, could at least hold out indefinitely against the guerrilla challenge. After Berlin, these calculations are less certain.

The offensive was cunningly timed to coincide with the Reagan Administration's ritual certification to Congress of what nobody really believes: that Salvador's Government is "making progress" on political and economic reforms, and taking steps to punish the killers of civilians, including six Americans. Obviously chastened, State Department officials even conceded that America's policy signals to Salvador have been, at best, confused.

Few Americans want to see El Salvador turn into a Marxist tyranny; on that, surely, there is no confusion. Nor is there a clamor for saintliness by a

troubled regime caught up in a savage civil war that is itself rooted in a half-century of oppression.

But a troubled partner is one thing, a barbarous one something else. The mixed signals sent to El Salvador arise from the failure to draw this distinction. And more than morality is at stake; the barbarity has been as damaging to the Government's cause as any guerrilla strike.

What is nonetheless striking in El Salvador is that so many remain willing to fight for a decent, elective government. If the guerrillas can win only psychological victories, it is in part because they have not earned the massive popular support they claim.

What should also be remembered, however, is that the opposition is not monolithic or wholly Leninist. There are democrats on both sides of the barricades. Somehow bringing them together ought always to be the central purpose of the United States' patronage.

Merely denying victory to the insurgents and counting on military stalemate is half a policy. Offering the opposition a genuine share of political power is the card that no one seems to be playing.

It should be played precisely because neither side can be sure of winning, because the insurgents must fear wider American intervention, because the Government should fear American weariness and because Venezuela and Mexico, among others, stand ready to help negotiate a way out. Fighting the military battle makes no sense without a plausible political strategy.

Topics

Marathon Man

Not since Ronald Reagan took a month off in the summer of 1981 have Type B's had such comforting news. Marathon runners, an article in The New England Journal of Medicine reports, have a personality disorder similar to that of anorectic women.

Not that a Type B would wish a personality disorder on a Type A high achiever — e.g. the typical obsessive runner. It's just that in this workaholic age, he who believes the earth will spin without his pushing it is a guilty man.

Compulsions

Now he won't have to. "Their behavior becomes pathological," he'll murmur, quoting the journal, "as a result of an extreme degree of construction, inflexibility, repetitive thoughts, adherence to rituals. . . . And knowing that he himself is open to the world, flexible as a cooked noodle and spontaneous to a fault, he'll smile. Very slowly."

Supply-Side Drug War

The Reagan Administration has taken a belated but essential step against illegal drugs, proposing a 43 percent budget increase for the State Department's International Narcotics Control Program. The proposed increase could make much more difference than is evident from the raise in dollars, from \$37 million to \$53 million.

Law enforcement authorities, like Attorney General William French Smith, contend that every dollar spent

in combating drugs overseas, at their source, is worth \$10 spent for enforcement at home. Nonetheless, the international enforcement program has hardly received priority.

Four years ago, it spent \$40 million, not very much considering its mammoth mission: trying to curtail the growth of drug-producing crops in places ranging from Thailand to Bolivia. In the last three years, despite inflation, its budget fell to just \$37 million.

The Administration has been aggressive against drugs in other respects. A task force fights the rampant drug trade in South Florida. Similar efforts will be made in 12 major cities. New laws allow the military to track sea and airborne drug cargo. And Mrs. Reagan crusades around the nation to warn youths of the dangers of drugs. Such efforts are important. But nothing works better than fighting drugs at their source; this is one spending request Congress should be glad to endorse.

Letters

The Government's Bad Deal for U.S. Indians

To the Editor:

Interior Secretary Watt's recent comments regarding the "terrible plight of the American Indian" have invited discussion on an issue poorly understood by most Americans.

Mr. Watt correctly points to the Government's neo-colonialist policies toward Indian peoples, including the welfare system administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as a source of social deterioration on Indian reservations.

However, the Reagan Administration's proposed solution to the social problems of the reservations, such as unemployment, alcoholism and drug addiction, promises instead the further undermining of an already battered native American culture.

Administration policy calls for the reduction of funding for the reservations and the invitation of private interests to assume the responsibility for economic support and development of Indian communities. The incentive to private enterprise is clearly present, especially on the Western reservations, where over 60 percent of the nation's energy resources, including oil, uranium and lumber, are located.

The non-Indian public should be aware of two serious drawbacks to such a proposal.

First, it represents a unilateral abrogation of many of the more than 371 treaties through which Indian nations relinquished large tracts of land in consideration for the Government services now being withdrawn.

The second drawback arises from

the Administration's claim that Indian people will benefit from private investment since contracts will be negotiated with the tribal governments. Unfortunately, these tribal governments do not represent the majority of the Indian population. Rather, they are administrative authorities im-



posed by the Government and managed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Since these tribal governments are the bodies that will "represent" Indian people in contract negotiations under the Reagan plan, it is clear that, far from being concerned with the social problems of the Indians, the Administration seeks only to facilitate corporate opportunities for the exploitation of resources on Indian lands.

Furthermore, Indians who benefit

economically from this exploitation are being coerced into the abandonment of their traditional view of the relationship between human society and nature as one of cooperation and mutual support. The right of Indians to exercise sovereignty over their natural wealth and to thereby sustain this traditional view continues to be undermined through economic pressures.

While the majority of Indian people have expressed time and time again their unwillingness to exploit their economic resources for profit, the Government has continued to sanction and aid in such exploitation through the offices of the Interior Secretary and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Reagan plan merely offers private corporations a greater role in this process.

Percentages of profits from resource exploitation and the sale of reservation land are being dangled before Indian people at a time when reservations are, as a direct result of Federal policies, economic disaster areas. With unemployment near 90 percent on many reservations and with the severe cutbacks of U.S. funds, Indian people are weakening before phenomena which they cannot control and which they most certainly do not desire.

Moreover, by catering to corporate interests, with their shortsighted desire for profit, the Administration's proposal does not offer Indian people the opportunity to rebuild independent communities and to develop a viable economic strategy consistent with the nonexploitive attitude of traditional American Indian culture.

Rather, this plan will merely shift economic dependency from the Federal bureaucracy to corporate boards, which will withdraw their support when they have exhausted the resources on Indian lands. The Anaconda Corporation, which operated the Japile Mine on the land of the Laguna Pueblo until 1982, gave an example of this pattern of behavior.

Over the past 15 years, Indian people have been working to re-establish their traditional culture in a form consistent with and relevant to the modern world. Yet after 200 years of forced dependency on the U.S. Government, the process of decolonizing Indian nations is slow and difficult.

If that process is allowed to continue and flourish, Indian nations will once again become strong, self-sufficient and capable of directing the use of their natural resources according to policies which seek to meet the needs of the present while ensuring the health and integrity of life for future generations.

WILLIAM A. MEANS
Director, International
Indian Treaty Council
New York, Jan. 28, 1983

Lebanon: Invitation to P.L.O. 'Devilry'

To the Editor:

The confrontation between a U.S. Marine officer and Israeli armor on Feb. 2 underlines the potential for unnecessary violence in Lebanon.

Field commanders reflect the attitudes of their governments. The current climate of acrimony and mistrust between Washington and Jerusalem must inevitably color the liaison between the Marine and Israeli officers responsible for keeping the peace. The increasing tempo of hostile incidents indicates that this liaison is either very poor or nonexistent.

On Jan. 21, Secretary of Defense Weinberger publicly voiced his concern about the potential for violence between American and Israeli troops. Given the situational conditions for clashes and this latest hair-trigger incident, his anxiety was well justified.

However, it was Secretary Weinberger himself whose orders have effectively prevented close liaison between

the two allies. His fear, apparently, is that the P.L.O. will confuse coordination with collusion.

This patent absence of genuine coordination between U.S. and Israeli ground forces produces conditions ideally suited to P.L.O. devilry: (a) using our marines as a sieve-like screen for hit-and-run tactics against Israeli troops, and (b) provoking confrontations between Americans and pursuing Israeli forces.

This cynical strategy is designed to effect a fundamental shift in American public opinion, thereby allowing the Administration to withdraw even further its reluctant support of Israel. It is tragic indeed that our most valuable strategic asset in the Middle East can be so easily neutralized by the machinations of a defeated Soviet surrogate.

JOSEPH CURBA
Director
Center for International Security
Washington, Feb. 3, 1983

An Abortive Attack On 'Coming of Age'

To the Editor:

The old "nature vs. nurture" argument loomed large in your Jan. 31 news article about Prof. Derek Freeman's critique of Margaret Mead's "Coming of Age in Samoa," an emphasis evident in the fact that your correspondent interviewed a biologist, an animal ethologist and a physical anthropologist on what is essentially a dispute over cultural facts.

The reasoning seemed to be that "Coming of Age" was a landmark in establishing the priority of social conditions over genetic inheritance; therefore, if Mead's facts were wrong, then maybe the "nature" proponents were right after all. This is specious reasoning, for in actuality the Mead-Freeman issue casts little light on heredity, or environment.

First, Freeman's position is that the oppressiveness of Samoan society was the source of manifold behavioral disturbance among young people, a radically different view from Mead's but still a cultural interpretation.

Second, the idea that childhood and adolescent experience differ in different cultures was not originated by Mead, though her book brought the point home to Americans with force and brilliance.

Third, whatever may be the Samoan facts, subsequent research in other parts of the world has substantiated her essential theoretical stance.

Finally, your readers should know that there are hundreds of societies in which girls are married shortly after menarche. Virginity, repression and teen-age problems are hardly important issues in female socialization in such groups, for they have liquidated adolescence, making this a moot question.

It has not been our purpose to take sides in a dispute over Samoan ethnography, for this is outside our own areas of specialization (a limitation that apparently did not in any way temper the pro-Freeman partisanship of Dr. N. Tinbergen, a student of herring gulls). As for the reliability of ethnological data, this is hardly the first time that anthropologists — and sociologists and physicists — have looked at the same thing and seen new and different facets of reality. This is called science.

As for the nature/nurture controversy, it is wholly irrelevant to Samoan girlhood. In the final analysis, perhaps Dr. Freeman has only succeeded in bringing Mead's legacy to life again — for which we thank him.

ROBERT F. MURPHY
ALEXANDER ALLAND JR.
ELLIOTT P. SKINNER
New York, Feb. 1, 1983

The writers are professors of anthropology at Columbia University.

Namibia: Not a 'Slap' but an Opening

To the Editor:

Your Jan. 25 editorial "The Namibian Albatross" contains several flaws. Those who have watched the evolving events in southern Africa would agree with the thrust of your analysis of the departure of Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, from the so-called Internal Government and the return of direct rule from Pretoria. Of course, it has always been apparent that Mr. Mudge and his alliance did not rule Namibia.

However, you imply that serious policy makers in the U.S. and elsewhere had believed in Mudge's independence of action. This is hardly the case. The requirements of posture, of appearance, may have constrained the Western five to deal with Mr. Mudge and company — even as near-full participants in the negotiating process. But certainly artful sleight of hand is the essence of diplomacy.

Moreover, no one would argue that delay is helpful — either to the ultimate political disposition in Namibia or to the separate but related question of the Cubans in Angola. In fact, President Reagan and Vice President Bush have repeatedly said as much.

While these points you raise are largely valid, your conclusion is not.

Mr. Mudge's departure, and Pretoria's formal return, is not a "slap in the face" of the President's policy of constructive engagement. The Windhoek Government was never recognized, in Washington or in the capitals

of the Western five. How then could the disappearance of what had not been recognized be a slap?

Rather than a symptom of failure, as you seem to suppose, the Internal Government's demise must be viewed as a kernel of hope — as ephemeral as it may ultimately be.

The recent process in Windhoek has ended a hindering charade. There is no longer a need for the West to become entangled with the shadow polity called the Internal Government. The negotiating principals are now obvious; Pretoria can no longer hide behind Mr. Mudge. Thus, this is a negotiating opportunity.

I hope that the U.S. Administration will view it as such, and past performance leads me to believe it will, and that it will grasp the opening even though the chances for success — as always — are problematic.

The basic American distaste for a philosophy that has had such a lamentable effect on the political and spiritual life of South Africa has caused a profound myopia among some who view events in that region in the context of their implications for U.S. policy. Things are indeed not going as well as they could. But neither are they as bad as the nearsighted seem to wish.

It is in this light that the changes in Windhoek — or, for that matter, Pretoria — must be viewed. There is no slap — there is an opening.

RICHAUD SULLIVAN JR.
Babylon, L.I., Jan. 26, 1983

Shanker's Blow for Teacher Mediocrity

To the Editor:

The negativism Albert Shanker directs toward the concept of paying teachers on the basis of performance (advertisement, Week in Review Jan. 23) serves only to facilitate the erosion of confidence in public education.

His remarks clearly support the view that the teaching profession encourages mediocrity: one need only get older to receive next year's going rate. The message is outrageous and insulting to the very people Mr. Shanker represents and does much to preserve what he and his union are committed to changing: subsistence-level salaries.

As long as the price of rewarding outstanding teachers is held to be "the hostility and demoralization of all the rest," our schools will be in the grip of "all the rest," and communities will continue to set salaries on the basis of the lowest common denominator.

Teachers will receive salaries on a level similar to that of other professionals when they agree to be measured by performance. Only then will we be able to attract, on a competitive basis, top-flight professionals and retain them.

JOSEPH DELLA BADIA
Superintendent of Schools
Chatham Township, N.J., Jan. 26, 1983

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CAPE TOWN, Feb. 5 — Jonathan Swift might have sent Gulliver to such a place: a country where people exist in the same space but perceive different realities and live by different clocks. That is South Africa.

The gulf between white and black in South Africa is hardly new, but there is a paradox that there is change. Yet many blacks find the change so slow, so marginal that they call it irrelevant; and their alienation deepens.

For the whites, the big political subject now is the package of constitutional reforms being pushed by Prime Minister P. W. Botha. The present all-white Parliament will be replaced by one of three chambers: white, colored, Indian. Though the whites will remain dominant, and will choose a powerful president, reform-minded members of the governing National Party see these changes as a great step away from all-white politics. "Historic" is the word they use, and there is no doubt that they mean it.

But blacks see the constitutional package as a device to co-opt the colored and Indian communities in order to keep the African majority of the population down. The so-called reforms, they say, by continuing to deny the vote to all blacks, really entrench apartheid. A substantial number of coloreds share this view and are protesting the colored Labor Party's decision to try the new system.

Among whites, again, there is much ado about Mr. Botha's announcement, just made to Parliament, that a Cabinet committee will study "problems" of blacks in urban areas. People in the inner circles of the National Party say the Government will talk with real black leaders this time, and talk about some form of political rights.

But to blacks the Cabinet committee is just another avoidance tactic. The reality they perceive is continuing repres-

AT HOME ABROAD

The Two Nations

By Anthony Lewis

sion of black political yearnings: the silencing of critical political voices, the harassment of black union leaders, the torture and death of people detained by the security police.

As an outsider, visiting South Africa for the first time in two years, I see undeniable evidence of change. But it is change in attitudes rather than, so far, in the distribution of political power.

An example full of ironies is a cricket tour now being made here by a team of West Indians — all black. Whites, delighted at sabotaging the international sports boycott of South Africa, have been cheering the visitors.

Die Burger, a conservative Afrikaans paper, had a large color picture of an exultant West Indian player on page one when the visitors won in Cape Town. There were outraged comments when Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser of Australia said the West Indian wicket-keeper, David Murray, could not go there to join his white wife — though interracial marriage is against the law in South Africa.

In fact, some marriages between whites and coloreds or Indians are now unofficially tolerated, though the law remains as a weapon for use when desired. I sense a general easing of the rigidities of racism, in the culture if not the law. Conscience seems to be nibbling away a bit. Most crucially,

there are dissident voices in the Afrikaner community: academics, writers, a few churchmen.

The question is whether, and when, any of the felt movement may lead to a shift in political power: a real willingness to let blacks participate in the system. Should one believe the hints that real change is coming? Is it true, as insiders say, that the Government's need to placate conservatives explains its public reassertions of the principle — lunatic to an outsider — that blacks will find their rights in distant "homelands" that millions of them have never seen?

Americans, brought up in the faith that peaceful change works, would tend to find some hope in the planned inclusion of coloreds and Indians in Parliament, however jerry-built the tricameral structure looks. If they come in, Mr. Botha will have to give the politicians some tangible benefits: schools, housing, whatever. May he not get used to thinking about non-white constituencies?

The trouble with that American liberal mode of thought is that it does not fit the experience of South African blacks. After years of political debasement they no longer believe in promises of progress. They know they cannot challenge white power now, or for years to come. But they look at a distant future and believe it will be theirs. They are on a different clock.

Power is hard to share. Dr. Allan Boesak, a colored Dutch Reformed Church minister who is now one of the most articulate critics of the Government, was speaking to a white university audience when a student asked what he would do if he were Prime Minister. He said he would change nothing — except "white" to "black" in all laws, and "black" to "white." He would look for white "homelands," he said, and appoint committees of blacks to consider the problems of whites. He was joking, but the student shouted: "That's just what I thought you would do."

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5 — Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria came in here the other day, battered by his years, but still believing in the possibility of a more orderly world.

Mr. Kreisky is 72 years old, troubled by failing eyes and kidneys, but he is still a symbol of that hope.

In 1955, the Chancellor went to Moscow and helped negotiate the state treaty that liberated his country from the military occupation of the Soviet and Western allies. So he doesn't share the pessimistic view that the conflict between East and West, while inevitable, is irreconcilable.

He is a student of history, and the history of Austria tells us something.

For centuries, it had considerable experience of conflicting creeds, ideologies and governments whose claims to eternal life are beyond the imagination of this secular age.

Austria had to endure several invasions by the Turks, until this savage theological conflict between the cross and the crescent finally gave way to the rising scientific forces of the West and the acceptance of the principle of toleration in the church.

Chancellor Kreisky is too old to forget the extraordinary switches and landslides of history in this century.

Nothing seemed more ominous at the beginning than the envious struggles between Britain and France, yet with the rise of German power they had negotiated the Entente Cordiale within a few years.

In his time, Germany and France have composed their ancient feuds; America has come out of isolation and the enemies of the last world war have become allies; the Communist alliance between Moscow and Peking has collapsed, and wholly new centers of industrial power are rising in the third world — in the oilfields of the Middle East and little computerized job shops of Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong — to challenge even the spectacular success of Japan.

WASHINGTON

An Old Man's Faith

By James Reston

It may be much easier to observe these changes from Vienna — in the center of Europe — than from anywhere else.

Austria knows better than most about the unpredictable consequences of war, since military combat has reduced it from a great empire into a smaller but happier center of the arts and a bridge between the nuclear giants.

So Chancellor Kreisky goes on preaching the gospel of reconciliation. Maybe he's deceived by the success of Austria's neutral policy, for Moscow would like nothing more than to neutralize all of Europe, which it could then dominate.

But he insists on negotiation, on talking across the iron curtain and other barriers, not only in Europe but in the Middle East: with his Jewish comrades, with their Arab neighbors and enemies, always insisting on the possibility of reconciliation.

The last time I saw him before this week, Mr. Kreisky allowed me to read the file of his correspondence with Yasir Arafat of the P.L.O., pleading with him to abandon the tactics of terrorism, and revealing Mr. Arafat's private replies, which were much more sensible than his vicious public pronouncements. I asked whether it was not useful to publish them in The

New York Times. No, the Chancellor said, the hope is in private conversation.

Mr. Kreisky was so weary in Washington this week that he couldn't even respond to a toast by the Chief Justice of the United States. The Chancellor was on such a rough and crazy schedule with officials, Congressmen and other Washington publicity saints that it's surprising that he survived.

Still, maybe it was worth his limited energies, on the way to see his doctors in Boston.

Most of the world leaders who visit here are looking for headlines on the intractable problems on the day. Chancellor Kreisky brought us memories of the past and hope for the future.

He reminded me of a line from Archibald MacLeish: "It is when the human heart faces its destiny and notwithstanding sings..."

Washington recognized that this old warrior had something to say, even if it didn't quite agree with his message.

Keep talking with the people you oppose, Mr. Kreisky said. You might be surprised to find it might do some good.

We may never see him here again, but he had something to say, which William Butler Yeats said long ago: "Grant me an old man's frenzy."

*Myself I must remake
Till I am Timon and Lear
Or that William Blake
Who beat upon the wall
Till Truth obeyed his call.*

This of course is what Chancellor Kreisky has done under different circumstances in Vienna. He has beat upon the wall till truth obeyed his call, and has been suggesting here that maybe if President Reagan and Yuri Andropov met, without preconditions, they might be able to do the same.

Washington listened to the old man's faith, but wasn't really convinced.



The Solitude of Latin America

By Gabriel García Márquez

José Clemente Orozco / Collection of The Museum of Modern Art

Gabriel García Márquez, who won the 1982 Nobel Prize in Literature, delivered the following Nobel lecture in Stockholm in December. (It was translated from the Spanish by Marina Castañeda.)

ANTONIO Pigafetta, a Florentine navigator who went with Magellan on the first voyage around the world, wrote, upon his passage through our southern lands of America, a strictly accurate account that nonetheless resembles a venture into fantasy.

It is he recorded that he had seen hogs with navels on their haunches, clawless birds whose hens laid eggs on the backs of their mates, and others still, resembling tongueless pelicans, with beaks like spoons. He wrote of having seen a misbegotten creature with the head and ears of a mule, a camel's body, the legs of a deer and the whinny of a horse. He described how the first native encountered in Patagonia was confronted with a mirror, whereupon that impassioned giant lost his senses to the terror of his own image.

This short and fascinating book, which even then contained the seeds of our present-day novels, is by no means the most staggering account of our reality in that age.

The Chroniclers of the Indies left us countless others. El Dorado, our so avidly sought and illusory land, appeared on numerous maps for many a long year, shifting its place and form to suit the fantasy of cartographers. In his search for the fountain of eternal youth, the mythical Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca explored the north of Mexico for eight years, in a deluded expedition whose members devoured each other and only five of whom returned, of the 600 who had undertaken it. One of the many unfathomed mysteries of that age is that of the 11,000 mules, each loaded with 100 pounds of gold, that left Cuzco one day to pay the ransom of Atahualpa and never reached their destination. Subsequently, in colonial times, hens were sold in Cartagena de Indias that had been raised on alluvial land and whose gizzards contained tiny lumps of gold. One founder's lust for gold beset us until recently. As late as the last century, a German mission appointed to study the construction of an inter-oceanic railroad across the Isthmus of Panama concluded that the project was feasible on one condition: that the

rails not be made of iron, which was scarce in the region, but of gold.

Our independence from Spanish domination did not put us beyond the reach of madness. Gen. Antonio López de Santana, three times dictator of Mexico, held a magnificent funeral for the right leg he had lost in the so-called Pastry War. Gen. Gabriel García Moreno ruled Ecuador for 16 years as an absolute monarch; at his wake, the corpse was seated on the presidential chair, decked out in full-dress uniform and a protective layer of medals. Gen. Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, the theosophical despot of El Salvador who had 30,000 peasants slaughtered in a savage massacre, invented a pendulum to detect poison in his food, and had street lamps draped in red paper to defeat an epidemic of scarlet fever. The statue to Gen. Francisco Morazán erected in the main square of Tegucigalpa is actually one of Marshal Ney, purchased at a Paris warehouse of second-hand sculptures.

Eleven years ago, the Chilean Pablo Neruda, one of the outstanding poets of our time, enlightened this audience with his word. Since then, the Europeans of good will — and sometimes those of bad, as well — have been struck, with ever greater force, by the unearthly tidings of Latin America, that boundless realm of haunted men and historic women, whose unending obstinacy blurs into legend.

We have not had a moment's rest. A promethean president, entrenched in his burning palace, died fighting an entire army, alone; and two suspicious airplane accidents, yet to be explained, cut short the life of another great-hearted president and that of a democratic soldier who had revived the dignity of his people.

There have been 5 wars and 17 military coups; there emerged a diabolic dictator who is carrying out, in God's name, the first Latin American ethnocide of our time. In the meantime, 20 million Latin American children died before the age of one — more than have been born in Europe since 1970. Those missing because of repression number nearly 120,000, which is as if no one could account for all the inhabitants of Upsala. Numerous women arrested while pregnant have given birth in Argentine prisons, yet nobody knows the whereabouts and identity of their children, who were furtively adopted or sent to an orphanage by order of the military authorities. Because they tried to change this state of things, nearly 200,000 men and women have died throughout the continent, and over 100,000 have lost their lives in three small and ill-fated countries of Central America: Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. If this had happened in the United States, the corresponding figure would be that of 1,600,000 violent deaths in four years.

One million people have fled Chile, a country with a tradition of hospitality

— that is, 10 percent of its population. Uruguay, a tiny nation of two and a half million inhabitants, which considered itself the continent's most civilized country, has lost to exile one out of every five citizens. Since 1979, the civil war in El Salvador has produced almost one refugee every 20 minutes. The country that could be formed of

all the exiles and forced emigrants of Latin America would have a population larger than that of Norway.

I dare to think that it is this outsized reality, and not just its literary expression, that has deserved the attention of the Swedish Academy of Letters. A reality not of paper, but one that lives within us and determines

each instant of our countless daily deaths, and that nourishes a source of insatiable creativity, full of sorrow and beauty, of which this roving and nostalgic Colombian is but one cipher more, singled out by fortune. Poets and beggars, musicians and prophets, warriors and scoundrels, all creatures of that unbridled reality, we have had to ask but little of imagination, for our crucial problem has been a lack of conventional means to render our lives believable. This, my friends, is the crux of our solitude.

And if these difficulties, whose essence we share, hinder us, it is understandable that the rational talents on this side of the world, exalted in the contemplation of their own cultures, should have found themselves without a valid means to interpret us. It is only natural that they insist on measuring us with the yardstick that they use for themselves, forgetting that the ravages of life are not the same for all, and that the quest of our own identity is just as arduous and bloody for us as it was for them. The interpretation of our reality through patterns not our own serves only to make us ever more unknown, ever less free, ever more solitary.

Venerable Europe would perhaps be more perceptive if it tried to see us in its own past. If only it recalled that London took 300 years to build its first city wall, and 300 years more to acquire a bishop; that Rome labored in a gloom of uncertainty for 20 centuries, until an Etruscan king anchored it in history; and that the peaceful Swiss of today, who feast us with their mild cheeses and apathetic watches, bloodied Europe as soldiers of fortune as late as the 16th century. Even at the height of the Renaissance, 12,000 lansquenets in the pay of the imperial armies sacked and devastated Rome and put 8,000 of its inhabitants to the sword.

I do not mean to embody the illusions of Toni Kroger, whose dreams of uniting a chaste north to a passionate south were exalted here, 53 years ago, by Thomas Mann. But I do believe that those clear-sighted Europeans who struggle, here as well, for a more just and humane homeland, could help us far better if they reconsidered their way of seeing us. Solidarity with our dreams will not make us feel less alone, as long as it is not translated into concrete acts of legitimate support for all the peoples that assume the illusion of having a life of their own in the distribution of the world.

Latin America neither wants, nor has any reason, to be a pawn without a will of its own; nor is it merely wishful thinking that its quest for independence and originality should become a Western aspiration. However, the navigational advances that have narrowed such distances between our Americas and Europe seem, con-

versely, to have accentuated our cultural remoteness.

Why is the originality so readily granted us in literature so mistrustfully denied us in our different attempts at social change? Why think that the social justice sought by progressive Europeans for their own countries cannot also be a goal for Latin America, with different methods for dissimilar conditions? No: The immeasurable violence and pain of our history are the result of age-old inequities and untold bitterness, and not a conspiracy plotted 3,000 leagues from our homes. But many European leaders and thinkers have thought so, with the childishness of old-timers who have forgotten the fruitful excesses of their youth as if it were impossible to find another destiny than to live at the mercy of the two great masters of the world. This, my friends, is the very scale of our solitude.

In spite of this, to oppression, plundering and abandonment, we respond with life. Neither floods nor plagues, nor famines nor cataclysms, nor even the eternal wars of century upon century have been able to subdue the persistent advantage of life over death. An advantage that grows and quickens: Every year, there are 74 million more births than deaths, a sufficient number of new lives to multiply, each year, the population of New York sevenfold. Most of these births occur in the countries of least resources — including, of course, those of Latin America. Conversely, the most prosperous countries have succeeded in accumulating powers of destruction such as to annihilate, a hundred times over, not only all the human beings that have existed to this day but also the totality of all living beings that have ever drawn breath on this planet of misfortune.

On a day like today, my master William Faulkner said, "I decline to accept the end of man." I would feel unworthy of standing in this place that was his if I were not fully aware that the colossal tragedy he refused to recognize 32 years ago is now, for the first time since the beginning of humanity, nothing more than a simple scientific possibility. Faced with this awesome reality that must have seemed a mere utopia through all of human time, we, the inventors of tales, who will believe anything, feel entitled to believe that it is not yet too late to engage in the creation of the opposite utopia. A new and sweeping utopia of life, where no one will be able to decide for others how they die, where love will prove true and happiness be possible, and where the races condemned to one hundred years of solitude will have, at last and forever, a second opportunity on earth.

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(Publication of the full English text in the United States was authorized last week by Gabriel García Márquez.)

David Alfaro Siqueiros / Collection of The Museum of Modern Art

They Filmed as the Stones Rolled

By ROBERT PALMER

My initial, basic idea was to make a real good hour-and-a-half-long rock and roll album, and capture some real good images to go with it." Hal Ashby, a leading Hollywood director whose credits include "Harold and Maude," "Shampoo," and "Being There," was talking about his latest project, "Let's Spend the Night Together," a chronicle of the Rolling Stones' hugely successful 1981 tour of the United States.

"Music," he continued, "always plays a very strong part in my films, and over the years I've developed some strong ideas about how I would go about doing an actual music film. I've known Mick Jagger since the early 1970's, and been a Stones fan for a lot longer than that. So when the band was performing in Los Angeles and Mick asked my advice about who they could get to film some of their shows, I said, 'Why don't I do it?' It happened real fast, but for me it was just a big turn-on."

"Let's Spend the Night Together," which opens Friday at the Astor Plaza, could easily be mistaken for a straightforward concert documentary. Although the footage is drawn from three concerts on the Rolling Stones' 50-concert tour, an extravaganza that broke numerous records established by previous rock tours and played to more than two million people, the film closely follows the programming of an actual concert and includes 25 Rolling Stones songs. There are a few peeks backstage, and a snippet of 1960's newsreel footage intrudes during "Time Is on My Side," but these are momentary diversions, nothing more. This is a concert-on-film, a close-up of rock's reigning super-band performing music from every stage of its 20-year career.

But according to Mick Jagger, who was in New York recently with three of the other four Stones to attend a press screening and reception, "Let's Spend the Night Together" only appears to be a documentary.

"It's really Hal's film," Mr. Jagger said out of the corner of his mouth as he waded patiently through a milling crowd of invited guests at the reception. "I didn't want there to be an emphasis on interviews backstage because I figured that had been done, but that's all I really said. I couldn't even get involved in the editing, because we were on the road in Europe. But remember, Hal and his assistant Pablo Ferro had 10 to 20 cameras shooting each concert, and they put together what you see on the screen out of all that footage. You may think you're seeing something approaching *cinéma vérité*, but the less graceful parts, the mistakes, to be blunt, have been edited out."

Pablo Ferro is billed in the film's credits as Mr. Ashby's creative associate, but according to the director



Keith Richards, the Stones' guitarist and musical mastermind and co-writer, with Mick Jagger, of all their songs, was in peak form on the band's 1981 tour. For years he had been rock's most legendary drug-abuser, a stylish but self-destructive desperado who was widely expected to become rock's next drug fatality. But after he was arrested in Toronto in 1978, with a quantity of heroin large enough to warrant being charged with trafficking the drug, he realized that his lifestyle was jeopardizing the Rolling Stones' future as a performing band. And being a Rolling Stone has always seemed to mean more to Keith Richards than it has to anyone else. So he flew directly from Toronto to a private clinic near New York City and underwent treatment for his decade-long habit.

Mr. Richards and Mr. Jagger have always been the heart and mind of the Stones. During the middle and late 1970's, when Mr. Richards's drug problems prevented him from holding up his end, their music and reputation suffered. There were uneven, disappointing albums, some lackluster shows, and widespread fears that Mr. Jagger's jet-set social life was robbing the Stones of their grit and honesty. But "Tattoo You," released just

Mick Jagger—pleased with a film achieved "in the middle of all the insanity of a big tour"

"he was actually my co-director. Guild requirements are the only thing that prevented him from having that title." Mr. Ferro, a small, intense man who is best known for the innovative titles and other special visual effects he contributed to "Dr. Strangelove," "Midnight Cowboy" and most of Hal Ashby's films, was standing in a corner at the reception, looking relieved that Mr. Jagger and the other Stones present were the center of attention.

"Hal and I directed the shooting of the concerts from a bank of video monitors," Mr. Ferro explained, "so we could see what each of the cameras was getting at any given time. Hal was directing half the cameras and I had the others. We'd be yelling into the operators' headsets, 'Camera One, stay with Mick, stay with Mick,' and 'Camera Three, look good on Keith Richards, don't lose him,' and all the while everything they were shooting was being recorded on videotape. It was exhausting, and it got pretty crazy. Later, we went in and edited from the videotapes."

"Let's Spend the Night Together" lives up to Mr. Ashby's ideal, the hour-and-a-half live album, in the audio department. The sound was recorded on the most up-to-date equipment and

mixed by Bob Clearmountain, whose work on the Rolling Stones' recent "Tattoo You" and "Still Life" albums brought a new punch and clarity to the band's sound. It's as crisp and immediate as any live album, and clearer by far than the sound at any outdoor concert. But visually, the film is a close-up view of the Stones at work through the eyes of Mr. Ashby and Mr. Ferro, two longtime fans with their own ideas about what makes the Stones tick, and what makes them great.

"One thing a lot of people noticed about this tour was that Keith Richards's presence seemed so strong," Mr. Ashby noted. "There were cynics around who were certain that when all was said and done, we were just going to have a bunch of shots of Mick running around the stage, but Keith's role onstage was so important, and I tried to show as much as I could of how the other musicians and the audiences responded to him. I went to several shows before we started filming, and you could see, following the band on a day-to-day basis, how much they all cared about playing at their best. They all had their private anxieties, their good feelings and bad feelings about how the music was sounding, night by night."

before the beginning of the 1981 tour, was the Stones' strongest album in years. And with a remarkably healthy-looking Mr. Richards practically breathing fire onstage, the 1981 tour triumphantly affirmed the band's mastery of the rock and roll idiom.

"Getting that tour out on the road was such a tremendous amount of work, we didn't even think about filming it before we started," Mr. Jagger noted. "But once we were out there playing, the band started working so well together, I thought it just had to be captured. I'm quite pleased that the band managed to achieve a film like this in the middle of all the insanity of a big tour. I think the Stones really deserved it."

"Let's Spend the Night Together" focuses on the remarkable energy and stamina of Mick Jagger's performances as well as on Keith Richards's musical contributions and charisma. But it also captures something else about the band that seems to have

eluded earlier filmmakers entirely. By placing as many cameras as possible actually on or just to the side of the stage, Mr. Ashby managed to record the smiles and signals and split-second interactions between all the Rolling Stones that enliven the music, make it fresh again, at each performance.

A Rolling Stones show isn't just Mick Jagger and Keith Richards, however central they may be. It's the guitarist Ron Wood's manic nonstop pace and his fluid musical give-and-take with Mr. Richards. It's the power and the springy, lighter-than-air life in Charlie Watts's drumming, and it's Bill Wyman's sudden, shy smiles as he stands stock still at stage right, nailing down the rhythms with his lyrical but rock-solid bass lines. Take away any of these parts and the whole is no longer the Rolling Stones. It's this understanding of what makes the Rolling Stones a great band that motivated Mr. Ashby and Mr. Ferro, and that earlier films failed to communicate.

Compared to "Woodstock," the first rock concert film to move decisively beyond the hand-held documentary approach, "Let's Spend the Night Together" is a triumph of cinema technology. The camera work in that film, and the showy split-screen editing it introduced and turned into an overnight cliché, tended to distract from the music rather than illuminate it. Mr. Ashby's film uses film technology, and the accumulated wisdom of its experienced director, his associates and his crew, to bring the music to life and make it breathe. Back in the "Woodstock" era, rock was more readily understood as a happening, a spectacular mass phenomenon, than as music. And while the Rolling Stones tour, especially its mammoth outdoor shows, may have been the most spectacular rock event ever staged, the accent at the shows, and in the film, was on the music. The images on the screen are mostly images of a band that knows just what to do and still enjoys doing it, a band that has been the best definition-in-action of what rock and roll is and can be for almost 20 years.

But compared to Martin Scorsese's "The Last Waltz," a filmed record of the Band's star-studded farewell concert with guest appearances by Bob

Dylan, Neil Young, and other rock royalty, "Let's Spend the Night Together" can almost qualify as a documentary. Mr. Scorsese prepared for the filming of "The Last Waltz" by readying an elaborate shooting script for every song that would be performed. Every little guitar fill, every split-second drum break, was in the shooting script and covered by a camera. Mr. Scorsese knew what each musician would be doing at almost every moment, and he choreographed his carefully blocked-out images into a complex visual ballet for his film, which is still the most detailed and intimate filmed record of a rock concert.

Asked about the merits of Mr. Scorsese's approach, Mr. Ashby simply shrugged. "It's not the way I wanted to work," he said. "And it's not the way the Stones work, either. We talked briefly beforehand about the songs, and of course I knew that during such-and-such a song, Mick would approach the audience, or run out onto one of the ramps at the sides of the stage. I'd tell the camera operators that sort of thing. But I also told them that if they came across somebody who was doing something good, to stay with him."

The difference in style between "The Last Waltz" and "Let's Spend the Night Together" reflects a vast difference in style between a group such as the Band, which delivered letter-perfect readings of its best-known songs at each performance, and the Rolling Stones, probably the only rock band that performs in huge outdoor arenas without rehearsing every aspect of its show for maximum impact. Even at the end of their tour, the Stones were never certain whether Ron Wood or Keith Richards or their guest saxophonist Ernie Watts was going to take a solo on certain songs. Sometimes two or even all three of these musicians would plunge into a solo at once, and keep going, weaving their lines together into a careening, full-tilt ensemble improvisation.

A detailed shooting script simply wouldn't have prepared Mr. Ashby, Mr. Ferro and their camera operators for such inspired chaos, nor would such planning have been of much use when the Stones decided, as they often did, to extend a number that had built up a nice head of steam for several minutes beyond its customary run.

George Cukor's Loving Marriage To the Movies

By GARSON KANIN

The recent George Cukor obituaries stated that he was never married. What nonsense! He was one of the most married men ever known. I myself was married to him eight times. Kate Hepburn outdid me with 10. Garbo, five. John Barrymore, three. Judy Holliday, four.

These working marriages contained many of the elements of the real thing: love, understanding, compassion, friction, compromise, adjustment, joy and, eventually, the creation of offspring.

It could not be otherwise with George. His dedication to his work was total, and no one in the complex history of film better understood its collaborative nature.

Perhaps his long theater orientation was responsible for his instinctive ability to create an atmosphere in which creative work could take place. This, in turn, necessitated a variety of continuous partnerships, dependent and interdependent. No one was better able to marshal these delicate, volatile crafts and arts more gracefully.

He was one of the earliest recruits during that revolutionary period when film found its voice and did not quite know what to do with it. The legitimate theater was swiftly tapped. Actors and actresses, writers and directors who could deal with the spoken word were bought and brought, dragged, enticed, lured, or welcomed to the new Hollywood.

In 1929, George went to Hollywood as a "dialogue director," a newly-invented, hungrily-needed position. One of his first assignments in this capacity was "All Quiet on the Western Front." A year later, he co-directed three of the first so-called "all-talking" movies: "Grumpy," "The Virtuous Sin," and "The Royal Family of Broadway." 1931 saw his first solo directorial work "Tarnished Lady," with Tallulah Bankhead.

By this time, the shift to Hollywood was inevitable. George moved West and metamorphosed into a permanent Californian.

For a film director, George had a rare respect for the text, striving always to provide entertainment for the



The late George Cukor

ear as well as for the eye. I recall a day while he was shooting a screenplay of mine. He phoned me five times in New York from the set in Hollywood to request minor textual changes: once, a single word substitution; another time, a two-line cut.

He expressed his methodology accurately when he said, "I don't collaborate on a script with a screenwriter; I hector him, I criticize and sometimes I influence him. Basically, I leave him alone to do his job. I have respect for the writer. A good scene doesn't need my two cents in it."

Another distinguishing element in the filmography of George Cukor is its iridescent versatility and wide range. Consider the differences in tone and form in "David Copperfield" (period epic); "Romeo and Juliet" (classic lyric); "My Fair Lady" (stage to screen musical); "Born Yesterday" (political comedy); "Gaslight" (period melodrama); "Camille" (19th-century French romance); "The Marrying Kind" (middle-class domestic comedy-drama); "Heller in Pink Tights" (western); "Winged Victory" (Army musical spectacle); "Adam's Rib" (high comedy); "Pat and Mike" (low comedy) — the list represents but a small fraction of the ever-flowing cornucopia of his achievement. Yet, diverse as these

films are, each bears the unmistakable Cukor stamp — a gifted fabulist telling all kinds of stories.

As a rule, the end of shooting on a film signals the end of the relationship between cast and crew. Not so in the case of George Cukor. Virtually every actor and actress whom he directed remained his friend to the end. Even Vivien Leigh, with whom he worked only a few weeks on "Gone With the Wind" before being foolishly replaced, became a close and lifelong chum — more, in fact, a blood relative *monqué*.

His brilliant partnership with the incomparable Katharine Hepburn grew in strength and depth as the years passed. From "A Bill of Divorcement" in 1932 through the television production of "The Corn Is Green" in 1979 — they complemented one another with burgeoning inspiration and aspiration. Think of it — professional mates for almost 50 years.

Long careers, like long lives, are replete with oddities, surprises, and ironies. In 1931, George made "What Price Hollywood?" for R.K.O. with Constance Bennett and Lowell Sherman. A few years later, in 1937, its producer, David O. Selznick, left R.K.O. to form his own company, acquired the rights and remade the story, stunningly, as "A Star Is Born." Then, in 1954, "A Star Is Born" was remade still again using the same title — but with music and Judy Garland. The director? George Cukor who had made the original 23 years before.

There are film directors who shoot take after take: "What do you want?" a confused player asks. "I don't know — but I'll know it when I see it."

George, conversely, possessed the superlative talent for putting an idea into words. He was a widely-read, highly literate and articulate man who could — and did — express himself candidly, lucidly, and fearlessly.

George never abandoned his experience, as some do in an effort to appear up-to-date. "I never improvise," he said. "But I'm no fool. It's important to listen to an actor's feelings about a scene, but once we agree on it, we do it just that way with no improvisation. With improvisation, you lose tempo, you lose everything. A well-written scene with good actors will look spontaneous on the screen."

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Appointment on Park Avenue

By JUDY SIEGEL-ITZKOVICH / Jerusalem Post Reporter

I THOUGHT it was a good idea: to return to the Israel Aliya Centre in Manhattan, 10 years after I last visited the Park Avenue offices to speak with a *shaliach* about settling in Israel.

The first time, I went as a genuine potential *olah*, a New York Jew, fresh out of university, with only biblical, American-accented Hebrew. Over 50,000 olim, many of them Americans, moved to Israel that year, and there were lines at the centre as if it were a Jerusalem bakery on Friday morning. My aliya emissary, a woman named Michal, was memorable only for her apathy, and all she did for me was arrange a reduced-price airline ticket.

This time, now an Israeli reporter who covers the immigration and absorption beat, I had hoped to go *in-cognito* and see how aliya applicants are treated these days.

I decided to use my married name with an Americanized spelling, hoping no one at the centre would recognize me. I concocted a story that I was "divorced and with only \$2,000 to my name," having heard many complaints that such potential olim are discouraged by *shlichim*.

A WEEK before flying home I called the aliya centre, taking care not to let Hebrew words or accent creep into my English. "Hello, this is Judith Izkovitch," I said. "I'm interested in making aliya," deliberately putting the accent on the middle syllable to sound like a greenhorn.

"I can't set an appointment for you in less than three weeks," was the secretary's mechanical response.

"Why are there so many immigrants?" I asked, as my plot began to fall apart.

"Apparently so," she responded. I pressed her to call me any time if there was a cancellation, as I was going "abroad" in a week. "That's not likely, but I'll try," she said.

I had no alternative but to call Moshe Shechter, director of the Israel Aliya Centre and in charge of all 20 emissary offices in the U.S. and Canada, for an interview. He invited me over the next day.

New York headquarters of the World Zionist Organization at 515 Park Avenue had not changed much in a decade, but there was tighter security at the entrance, with a necessary, but rather intimidating, security search and electronic doors operated by a guard.

ALL I knew about Shechter was that he was a Tel Aviv lawyer, born in Argentina, and a long-time activist in Herut. But, unlike some of his predecessors whose party affiliation was their main qualification for the job, Shechter gave the impression of caring very much about aliya, and being well versed in the

problems of American Jewry. With his open-necked flannel shirt, he gave an impression of relaxed informality.

"I had no connection with aliya before my appointment," conceded Shechter, who had been legal adviser of the Herut movement and secretary-general of its Betar youth movement. "But I was proposed because I think aliya is Israel's number one priority."

In his nine months in America, Shechter has learned that "you can't bluff the Jews here. You must be polite and act according to protocol. Americans read every booklet from start to finish and then have 100 questions about things that weren't written. You must never let them think you're smarter than they are; let them finish and then answer their questions."

ASKED to list the characteristics of the 3,150 North American Jews who went on aliya in 1982, Shechter notes that about 40 per cent are Orthodox, and most of the rest are traditional Jews. Almost all have been to Israel before. Many more of the olim are single, and about 60 per cent of them are under the age of

30. Nearly half have university degrees.

Although a decade ago the return rate of American olim within three years of arrival was around 40 per cent, Shechter claims that the rate now is only 8 per cent. "They are better prepared for aliya, and their having been in the country for tours or Israel programmes makes them more familiar with the country," he says. Many of the American olim are quite idealistic, he continues.

"Over 2,500 U.S. and Canadian olim are settled in Judea and Samaria."

Shechter believes that the over-50 age group has been neglected in the past because aliya authorities feared older people couldn't get jobs and would be burdens on the Israeli economy. But he claims that aliya of older Jews creates more Diaspora-Israeli contact, encourages children and grandchildren to visit and perhaps follow in their footsteps, creates jobs and brings in foreign currency. The aliya department, he says, is studying the possibility of planning a retirement community for olim living on foreign social security,

something like Sun City, in a warm part of Israel.

He countered complaints I had heard that retirees and singles without money are discouraged from coming on aliya.

"We don't consider money to be the prime factor in 'successful aliya,'" he maintains. "And we don't worry about age, unless the person is over 60 and has no means of support."

AN IMPORTANT job of the emissary, he says, is to explain to the potential *oleh* how life in Israel is different, in its positive and negative ways, from life in America. When Americans hear of a 130 per cent inflation rate, they turn pale, he says, but when they hear that with linkage the inflation is felt almost less than in the U.S. Women are told about different lifestyles, and the benefits of free schooling and low-cost health insurance are pointed out, in order to put smaller Israeli salaries in perspective.

The aliya department's "Operation 1000" will bring 1,000 North American Jewish families to Israel for a month this summer in the

hope that this will bring them closer to aliya. Programmes include work in Jewish National Fund forests, moshav work and living in an absorption centre. Living in a Judea and Samaria settlement, working in a kibbutz, learning Torah in a yeshiva with dormitory accommodation, volunteering in Israel Defence Forces warehouses, and touring the country. The project is subsidized partly by the WZO.

Israel itself is to blame for asking Diaspora Jews to give money rather than to settle in the country and contribute to its development personally. "Few Israeli leaders coming here are willing to talk about aliya," says Shechter, except for President Yitzhak Navon and Israel's Ambassador to the U.S., Moshe Arens.

The aliya centre is planning to establish a national aliya council in the U.S., composed of top organizational leaders from around the country, to help give the concept of aliya more legitimacy and develop plans for increasing immigration from the U.S.

SHECHTER believes that education towards aliya is very important, but "we can't force Jewish schools to have courses on Israel." Many schools, he adds, do not encourage aliya for selfish reasons, wanting to

keep their enrolments stable in the face of shrinking Jewish birthrates.

He quotes a recent study by Steve Cohen of American Jewish attitudes to aliya: 3 per cent are strongly for aliya themselves; 7 per cent more would consider it; 7 per cent said it would depend on "conditions"; 50 per cent strongly oppose aliya; and 32 per cent are opposed, but not strongly. Only 27 per cent of American Jews, according to the poll, have heard of the concept of "aliya" — settling in Israel regarded as an "ascent."

The aliya centre hopes to convince rabbis throughout North America to devote *Shabbat LeCh Lecha* next fall to a discussion of aliya in their synagogues.

Shechter is optimistic that American aliya can be tripled to about 10,000 in three or four years. But he is pessimistic in the long run about American Jewry, believing statisticians who say that in less than a century, "there will be only a handful left."

After the interview, I asked to see some of the potential olim who had appointments with the three emissaries. With some embarrassment, I was told that no one was there, because the interviewees had cancelled. It was suggested that I come back in the afternoon.

During the week before I flew home, no one phoned "Judith Izkovitch" to set an appointment in a time slot made available by another potential *oleh* who had cancelled.

THE IDEA of sending Jewish youth from Germany to kibbutzim in the early Thirties was initiated by Recha Freier, a distinguished member of the Berlin Jewish community. This idea achieved special urgency after the Nazis initiated their policy of discrimination against Jewish children in Germany, making it impossible for them to study and later to work in the country.

In 1932, Recha Freier received the first 12 immigration certificates from Dr. Zigmund Lehman, the founder and director of the Ben Shemen youth village. The first group of 12 youngsters arrived in Ben Shemen at the end of the year.

When conditions for young German Jews became acute, a group of Jewish leaders from Palestine persuaded Henrietta Szold, founder and leader of the Hadassah organization in America to become the director of the rescue operation and the settlement of Jewish youth from Germany, based on the idea conceived by Recha Freier.

Henrietta Szold, then aged 72, had given many outstanding years of service in Eretz Yisrael as member of the Zionist Executive and as director of the Department of social work of the Va'ad Leumi. She had wanted to return to the U.S. to be with her sister, but agreed to undertake this new mission, and she succeeded in building up Youth Aliyah as one of the greatest rescue, rehabilitation and educational movements in the

history of the Jewish people.

YOUTH ALIYAH, which was founded in 1932 at Recha Freier's home in Berlin, succeeded in sending thousands of youngsters to Palestine and absorbing them in kibbutzim and youth villages. Among the dedicated assistants of Henrietta Szold in this outstanding endeavour was Hans Beit, who was killed in December 1947 while returning to Jerusalem from Haifa, where he had received the Youth Aliyah children who arrived from the camps in Cyprus.

At the 19th Zionist Congress in Lucerne, Switzerland, in 1935, Rose Jacobs, national president of Hadassah, signed an agreement with Dr. George Landauer, director of the department for the rescue of German Jewry in the Jewish Agency, which made the American Hadassah organization the national representative of Youth Aliyah in the U.S.

Since then, Youth Aliyah has been one of the great programmes of American Hadassah, which has raised large amounts of money for Youth Aliyah projects in Israel.

In addition to Hadassah, a number of other agencies became representatives of Youth Aliyah. These included Canadian Hadassah WIZO, British Children and Youth Aliyah Committee (headed by Vera Weizmann), the French Youth Aliyah (headed by Baroness Alix de Rothschild), and other committees established in Europe.

The Women's Council of the

Rescuing the young

By MOSHE KOL / Special to The Jerusalem Post

Zionist Federation of South Africa, which is a part of the World WIZO, became the agency in that country. Rebecca Sieff, president of World WIZO, picketed in London to obtain more immigration certificates, and aroused public opinion against the inhuman policies of the Colonial Office, which had reduced Jewish immigration to Palestine.

When World War II began, the number of children arriving in Palestine diminished both because of the policy of the British Government and because of the Nazi occupation of Europe.

In 1935, Henrietta Szold died. At the Zionist Congress after the World War II, in December 1946, I was elected chairman of the management board of Youth Aliyah in the New Zionist Executive. Bertha Schoolman arrived in Israel as a representative of Hadassah to work with me in reorganizing the Youth Aliyah department, and she became my co-chairman of the management board.

She remained throughout the War of Independence and later, thus fulfilling her historic mission under very trying conditions. I remained under siege in Jerusalem with my family and refused to leave

for Tel Aviv. Therefore, I am indebted to Bertha's wholehearted support and cooperation during this difficult period.

At the General Zionist Council, which was held in the spring of 1948 before the birth of the state, I was elected world head of Youth Aliyah, to succeed Henrietta Szold and Hans Beit. I continued my responsibility as head of Youth Aliyah for 19 years — until the beginning of 1966 — when I became a member of the Israeli cabinet as minister of tourism and development.

IN 1949, I first visited Morocco. In 1952, I returned there, very depressed by the living conditions of the Jewish families and their children. As a result, I decided to initiate a Youth Aliyah programme to bring the children to Israel — at least one child from each family.

My idea was to build bridges for the families through their children, who would be educated and rehabilitated in Israel by Youth Aliyah so that they would, in turn, become the absorbers of their parents and families.

With this operation, a new great chapter in the history of Youth Aliyah began: to absorb and

educate Jewish children from the Arab and Moslem countries. We had to work out new programmes in accordance with the needs and standards and traditions of the children from those countries.

During the same period, we continued to bring over to Israel the orphans who had survived the Holocaust in Europe and the Jewish youth from Eastern Europe. The number of orphans reached 20,000.

Youth Aliyah children and youth arrived in Palestine in great numbers, even on the illegal immigration ships, before the state was born.

I was privileged to receive great help from personalities like Eleanor Roosevelt, who became active as world patroness. She served Youth Aliyah during the last 12 years of her life. Queen Elisabeth, queen mother of Belgium served as patroness in Belgium. The First Ladies of Israel — Vera Weizmann and Rahel Yanait Ben-Zvi, established two youth villages for the absorption of Youth Aliyah children. Rahel Yanait Ben-Zvi, a pioneer and an educator, helped me when her husband, Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, became president of Israel by

making Beit Hanassi a centre for Youth Aliyah.

The leaders of American Hadassah, the Canadian Hadassah WIZO, the Mizrahi Women of America and the Pioneer Women also became valued partners. The American Hadassah organization never failed to respond to my appeals and made an historic contribution to the success of Youth Aliyah programmes.

I received help and confidence from all the Zionist women's organizations as well as many international agencies for child welfare. Through our committees in Europe, both Jews and non-Jews participated in this great humanitarian undertaking. The two main roads of education and rehabilitation in Youth Aliyah were the kibbutzim and youth villages. Later we established day-care centres and placed children in foster homes and in institutions for special treatment.

The Youth Aliyah committee in Switzerland established the Swiss village in Kiryat Yearim where maladjusted children were rehabilitated. I passed responsibility for Youth Aliyah on to elected heads: Yitzhak Artzi, Yoseph Korman and Yoseph Shapiro. During

my tenure, I was privileged to have Dr. Hanoah Rinit and David Umansky serve as director of the Youth Aliyah department.

WE ARE now marking the 50th anniversary of Youth Aliyah, and I can say that it provided the most rewarding and happy chapter of my life; in the period of my responsibility, 100,000 children and youth from 82 countries were absorbed and educated.

The graduates of Youth Aliyah contribute to the quality of life in Israel and continue to play an important role in our society. They established approximately 50 kibbutzim. Youth Aliyah is the crowning achievement of Zionist fulfilment, and the Jewish people and the Zionist movement have reason for celebrating with pride the great success of this movement, which to date has absorbed more than 200,000 children.

Youth Aliyah has a great future and will continue its holy mission. All those associated with Youth Aliyah should continue to play an active role in future programmes for children from the Diaspora and the socially depressed areas of Israel.

"TESTIMONIUM 1983" — JERUSALEM SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Jean-Pablo Izquierdo, conducting (Jerusalem Theatre, February 3); Janak Xenakis "Sheva"; Music on "The terrible deed of Josef de la Rabe"; Tomas Marco: Concerto del Alma (Violle solo: Yigal Tunch); Leon Schidlowsky: "Ode."

THESE THREE premieres were further evidence of the declared intention of the *Testimonium* to commission works from outstanding contemporary composers that would throw light on the Jewish past and Jewish thought. The composers of our time, in general, would surely reject the idea that they write descriptive or programmatic music. Indeed, one was at a loss to find any

connection between the texts provided by Recha Freier for Xenakis and Marco and the pieces.

Xenakis delivered a compact orchestra, and a solo trombone with details and colourful instrumental and rhythmic combinations, though the piece could easily go under any other name. The Violin Concerto by

Tomas Marco is hardly a concerto for the violin; apart from some harmonics and Bartokian phrases, the solo instrument plays no important role. Orchestral treatment is economical, a bit on the dry side, but shows the pen of a well-grounded expert. Yigal Tunch easily mastered his part and presented a

satisfying performance.

Schidlowsky uses female choristers, sitting among the orchestra, and a solo trombone with the soloist standing at the side entrance for some single notes. The singing, humming and talking of the choristers blended to good effect with the instruments. One would like to hear this work again under different circumstances. Here the demands on concentration made by the Xenakis and Marco worked against relaxed receptiveness. All this contemporary music sounds terribly similar in texture, formlessness and intention.

Juan-Pablo Izquierdo did an excellent job of leading the Jerusalem Symphony through the unfamiliar scores. None of the composers, I believe, could have asked for a better interpreter. The orchestra not often exposed to such music, responded with alacrity, fulfilling its demanding task with commendable responsibility.

Testimonium 1983 — was it interesting? Decidedly so, if only stimulating at times. As for enjoyment the term does not seem to appear in the vocabulary of contemporary composers.

YOHANAN BOEHM.

ISRAEL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA, Aharon Harlap conducting with Hans de Vries, solo (Haifa Auditorium, February 1). Program: Sholem Sholem; Tchaikovsky: Concerto for Violin and Piano; Shostakovich: Concerto for Violin and Piano; Shostakovich: Concerto for Violin and Piano; Shostakovich: Concerto for Violin and Piano.

CIRCUMSTANCES took a toll on this concert. For conductor Aharon Harlap it was a last-minute assignment, replacing Uri Meir. Consequently not all the items were on the same level.

A committed reading of Britten's Simple Symphony opened the programme instead of the scheduled *Tehilim* (Psalms) by Partos. Harlap's clear and effective directives created good communication with the orchestra.

The Telemann was less satisfying. Although Van de Vries played his solo masterfully, with a pleasant light tone and impressive interpretative qualities, in an adequate style *galant*, there was a serious lack of cooperation and lack of balance between the solo and the

tutti of the accompaniment.

In the second part of the concert, oboist de Vries added appropriate sonority in an interesting performance of the "Essay." Written in 1968 as a recitative for oboe, the work has dramatic expressiveness contrasted by the dense texture of the orchestral part. The stimulating presentation was received well by the audience.

A faithful but rather unexciting performance of the "Paris symphony" ended the evening, leaving us with mixed feelings about the preparation and presentation of the programme.

HAIFA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Urs Schneider conducting with Wanda Wilkomirski, solo (Haifa Auditorium, January 31). Program: "A Night on the Bare Mountain"; Khachaturian: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Borodin: Symphony No. 2 in B Minor.

WHAT MAKES Wanda Wilkomirski's playing so convincing is much more than her sureness of technique, energy and musical understanding. In her rendition of Khachaturian's demanding concerto, there was also the right mixture of ease, variety of nuance, poise and involvement. It would be interesting to hear this violinist from Poland playing classic and romantic works. As an encore, she added a Capriccio by the Polish composer Bacewicz and played it with charm and dexterity.

For those listeners who enjoy Russian folk idiom the intensity of emotion and the Russian colouring of the whole programme was appropriate. Moussorgsky's orchestral tone poem was given a clear and lively performance.

The main shortcoming of the evening was lack of balance; a much larger string group was needed to match the sonorities of the brass. This was most evident in the Borodin symphony, an epic work full of rich, colourful orchestration and naive spontaneity. Urs Schneider's good cooperation with the orchestra could do very little to solve the problem.

Still, the programme was a success with the audience, which responded warmly with prolonged applause.

ESTHER REUTER

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Sameness of sound

MUSIC REVIEWS

connection between the texts provided by Recha Freier for Xenakis and Marco and the pieces.

Xenakis delivered a compact orchestra, and a solo trombone with details and colourful instrumental and rhythmic combinations, though the piece could easily go under any other name. The Violin Concerto by

Tomas Marco is hardly a concerto for the violin; apart from some harmonics and Bartokian phrases, the solo instrument plays no important role. Orchestral treatment is economical, a bit on the dry side, but shows the pen of a well-grounded expert. Yigal Tunch easily mastered his part and presented a

satisfying performance.

Schidlowsky uses female choristers, sitting among the orchestra, and a solo trombone with the soloist standing at the side entrance for some single notes. The singing, humming and talking of the choristers blended to good effect with the instruments. One would like to hear this work again under different circumstances. Here the demands on concentration made by the Xenakis and Marco worked against relaxed receptiveness. All this contemporary music sounds terribly similar in texture, formlessness and intention.

Juan-Pablo Izquierdo did an excellent job of leading the Jerusalem Symphony through the unfamiliar scores. None of the composers, I believe, could have asked for a better interpreter. The orchestra not often exposed to such music, responded with alacrity, fulfilling its demanding task with commendable responsibility.

Testimonium 1983 — was it interesting? Decidedly so, if only stimulating at times. As for enjoyment the term does not seem to appear in the vocabulary of contemporary composers.

YOHANAN BOEHM.

ISRAEL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA, Aharon Harlap conducting with Hans de Vries, solo (Haifa Auditorium, February 1). Program: Sholem Sholem; Tchaikovsky: Concerto for Violin and Piano; Shostakovich: Concerto for Violin and Piano; Shostakovich: Concerto for Violin and Piano; Shostakovich: Concerto for Violin and Piano.

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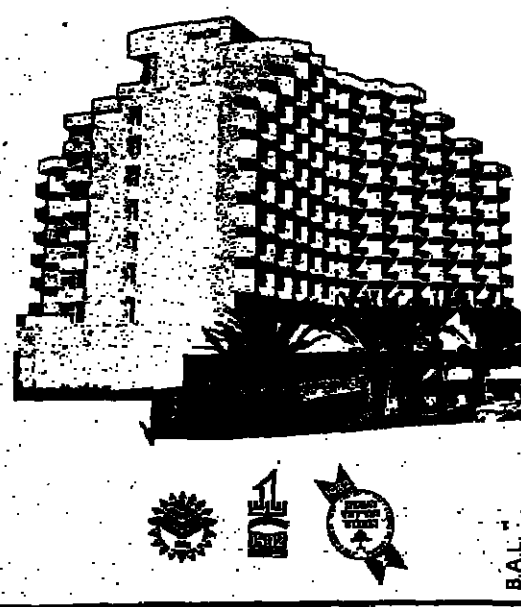
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Shvat 24, 5743 • Rabi-Thani 24, 1403

Better late than never

IT IS NOW thirty-one years since a French military court sentenced Klaus Barbie, the head of the SS in Lyon during the Nazi occupation of France, to death *in absentia* for war crimes. These crimes included the torture and mass shooting of resistance fighters and the deportation of tens of thousands of Jews to the extermination camps. Barbie was at that time in hiding in a place unknown.

Only in 1971 was it revealed, thanks to the exertions of Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, that Barbie had found refuge after World War II, under the assumed name of Akmann, in Bolivia. Attempts which followed at extraditing Barbie to France, or alternatively to West Germany, ran into opposition from the Bolivian government, which cited the absence of any agreement that would require it to do so. The "Butcher of Lyon," as Barbie had been nicknamed for his war crimes, was to be allowed to live the life of a prosperous businessman in his adopted land.

Now, at long last, his time seems to be up. The long arm of justice has finally reached him in his hideout in the western hemisphere. Having been flown over from Bolivia to France he is to stand trial, this time in person, for crimes against humanity. What it was that induced the new civilian government in La Paz to deliver the wanted murderer to his judges, is beside the point.

One would hope that it was the desire to redeem Bolivia's good name. In any case, the action is to be heartily applauded. The worst that could now happen to Klaus Barbie, aged 69, is said to be life imprisonment. This would be so out of proportion to the enormity of Barbie's crimes that the question might well be asked whether the effort to apprehend the accused was well worth the trouble. But even execution would have been pretty light punishment for the man who stood fairly close to Adolf Eichmann himself in the Nazi hierarchy of death.

Such a lack of fit between the undoubted crime and any possible retribution — and the lateness of the hour for anything approaching justice — has driven even thinking people into scepticism about the utility of holding war crimes trials now. The former President of the European Parliament, Simone Veil, herself an Auschwitz survivor, has just recently come out against any more trials for ex-Nazis. She conceded that the general rule need not apply to someone like Dr. Josef Mengele, the Auschwitz "Angel of Death," who is still at large somewhere in South America. Klaus Barbie-Akmann surely belongs in that unspeakable category.

But does this mean that the civilized world should now forgive and forget the hordes of lesser fry who merely contributed to the massacre of millions, and who are still alive and, more or less, well today? Should immunity from justice be issued, for example, to SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Alois Bruenner, a right-hand man of Eichmann, who, according to Beate Klarsfeld's information, has found haven in Syria?

There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, such criminals still roaming the world, not all of them by any means German. To mete out even the most condign punishment to them at this date would fall far short of meeting the true ends of justice. Nothing could ever be punishment enough for the Holocaust.

Time is indeed running out. But some time is still left to place on record humanity's moral judgment on the Nazi murderers and their collaborators — that "most pernicious race of odious little vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."

BARBIE CASE

(Continued from Page One)

is to France what the Eichmann affair was to Israel.

In Jerusalem, justice ministry spokesman Yitzhak Feinberg said that Israel had not received an official request from France for information on Barbie, adding that even if no request is lodged, Israel may send the information to France on its own initiative.

Feinberg said it was conceivable that Israel could seek Barbie's extradition pending the outcome of his trial in France. He said Israel would base such a request on a law it passed in the early 1950s claiming jurisdiction to prosecute Nazi war criminals irrespective of where their crimes were committed.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir

said at a Ben-Gurion Airport news conference prior to his departure for West Germany that "Israel will provide evidence to help the French authorities, if it is necessary."

But a police spokesman said that since France already had tried and sentenced Barbie to death *in absentia*, he did not think any new evidence from Israel would be needed to convict Barbie.

Israel's ambassador to France, Meir Rosenne, said he hoped that Barbie's trial "will change the minds of those who criticized Israel for putting Eichmann on trial."

Yad Vashem officials said they would make available any pertinent material on Barbie which the French courts might need.

(Reuters, AP)

U.S. THINKS

(Continued from Page One)

Any dialogue between the U.S. and Israel involving the marines, U.S. officials said, has to go through normal diplomatic channels, mostly via officials of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut and special envoy Morris Draper.

Draper's boss, Ambassador Philip Habib, meanwhile, is due to return to the region this week for yet one more effort to nail down a troop withdrawal agreement. Administration officials said Habib would be firm with Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defence Minister Ariel Sharon in determining Israel's "bottom line." Habib was expected to be carrying another message — probably verbal — to Begin from Reagan.

Habib and Reagan have become increasingly frustrated with the slow pace of the talks. For the most part,

they are blaming Israel for the lack of progress. Israel officials, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly unhappy with what they charge has been Habib's "heavy-handed" tactics. There have been suggestions that Habib's credibility may already have been severely damaged with the Begin government.

Meanwhile, a marine spokesman in Beirut yesterday rejected as totally false allegations published in Israeli newspapers that the marine captain who stopped three Israeli tanks with a drawn .45 calibre pistol had been drinking.

"It's absolutely false," said Lieutenant Colonel Walt Deforest of Woodbridge, Va., when told of the reports claiming that Captain Charles Johnson, 30, had alcohol on his breath at the time of the faceoff last Wednesday.

Nightmare end to Nairaland' dream

By NICK KOTCH

THE "AGEGE BOYS" are back from Nigeria, and with brutal suddenness Ghana has at least 500,000 more problems to cope with.

"Agege" is the name of the Lagos suburb to which young Ghanaians flocked in recent years, escaping the shortages and hardships of their homeland.

Expelled by Nigeria as illegal aliens, these young Ghanaians have been streaming home over the past week, hungry, exhausted and often sick after harrowing journeys by land and sea.

As they trudge along Accra's dusty streets with battered cases balanced on their heads, passers-by observe them with a mixture of pity and resentment.

Nigeria, rich from oil revenue, stood for ambition, danger sometimes, but above all for the naira, the currency which the immigrants spent mostly on coveted consumer goods.

Now they have been kicked out of "Nairaland" at two weeks' notice, and the Ghana to which they are returning remains the economically broken country they left. Job prospects are no better than before: beer and cigarettes are just as hard to find; and Ghana's currency, the cedi, still has minimal buying power.

"The expulsion has created a national crisis for Ghana," says Interior Secretary Johnny Hansen.

Officials and diplomats in Accra estimate that at least 500,000 deportees have already returned, although the Labour Ministry says that 900,000 had been registered.

Hundreds of thousands more are still in Nigeria, presumably as legal aliens, but nobody knows how many of them will return home in the face of hostility.

There were thought to be between 1 million and 1.5 million Ghanaians in Nigeria before the expulsion order three weeks ago.

Ordinary Ghanaians are as shocked as the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) about the speed of the mass expulsion. They recall that when Ghana ordered hundreds of thousands of Nigerians to quit 13 years ago, they were given three months' notice.

Many deportees and observers felt the Nigerian presidential elections later this year and the Lagos government's dislike of the PNDC government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings were the reasons for Nigeria's harsh two-week deadline.

The land exodus forced the PNDC to reopen Ghana's border with Togo, which it closed four months ago to the intense displeasure of West African states in a bid to combat smuggling.

But before it was reopened, tens of thousands of Ghanaian deportees had piled up, waiting for days in deplorable conditions, often

without food and drinking water.

The delay, diplomatic sources said, was due to the PNDC's fear that mercenaries alleged to have been hired by exile Ghanaian groups would infiltrate the evacuees and launch a coup.

The threat is taken seriously in government circles but when Hansen visited the evacuees in Benin last week, they greeted him with angry cries of "open the border."

Despite acts of generosity towards the deportees, many Ghanaians have expressed resentment about the funds being diverted for their welfare.

"These are all boys who left a sinking ship, and now they're screaming to get back on board," said a postal worker in Accra.

A newspaper columnist put it this way: "We were here, we toiled and slaved for Mother Ghana, but we had no toilet rolls, we seldom saw Fanta (orange drink) and it has become a privilege to drink beer and smoke cigarettes."

Ghanaian newspapers are full of reports of acts of violence by the deportees, who were blamed by the Lagos government for 50 per cent of Nigeria's high crime rate.

Their ingratitude and often rude and violent behaviour was criticized by Commodore Steve Obimpeh, head of the repatriation task force. "Ghanaians are not criminal peo-

Dry Bones



ple. But when I see some of them, I think they're not Ghanaians any more. They have hardened in Lagos," he said.

The government's plan is to incorporate the deportees swiftly into an existing national mobilization scheme to boost food and cash-crop production.

Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings, in his only statement so far on the crisis, called on traditional chiefs last week to release farming land for the deportees to cultivate.

Diplomatic sources say Ghana

will face a serious food shortage after the next harvest and will need substantial foreign help in grain and cereals now there are even more mouths to feed.

It remains to be seen whether young men who left the farms for Nigeria will happily buckle down to a tough village life.

Moreover, Nigeria needs Ghanaian skills, which kept vital sectors like the construction industry working, and many of the deportees might go back when the heat is off. (Reuters News Service)

The public be damned

By ALEXANDER ZVIELLI

entertainment much needed by the people under present conditions? The number of subscribers willing to pay large sums of money for such a service is the best proof of the need in it. And what about Beersheba where "pirate" television captures a wide audience?

WHY ARE THOSE who established and provide such a service criminals? Because of the objections of cinema owners? Because they violated some administrative regulations? Are they criminals because they violated the will of cabinet members such as Zipori or Zevulun Hammer, who quarrel among themselves in their attempt to turn a popular form of entertainment into a state monopoly which will serve their own narrow interests? And what about the basic human freedoms in what purports

to be an essentially democratic country?

We all agree that freedom of expression is the very essence of a democratic regime and that only under totalitarian regimes are cultural exchanges and assets controlled and policed by the administration. And there is actually no difference between the cultural function of a library providing books or a modern and sophisticated cable TV network. Both are cultural tools that should be made available to everyone and afforded state protection and support.

Zipori's explanation that he is delaying progress for technical reasons simply does not hold water. Cable TV may be a new invention; it is not a new medicine that has to be tested by the Health Ministry before it can go on sale to the public. We do not know of any harm coming to anyone who used cable TV to escape the clutches of our single-channel TV, overloaded with an Arabic programme at peak hours. But we do know that tourists in Eilat were deprived of a cable TV channel and turned to Jordan for their information.

RECENT research conducted for the newspaper *Kol Ha'ir* by Dr. Akiba Cohen and Dr. Haim Ayal of the Hebrew University's communications department indicates that 48 per cent of Jerusalemites watch Jordanian TV rather than Israel's single channel. Of these, 63 per cent believe in at least some of Amman's propaganda. Is such a state of affairs tolerable? Isn't *Kol Ha'ir's* study a severe indictment of the Israel government?

It cannot be denied that Israel's single TV channel does good work in the circumstances. The fact that it is overloaded, and that it has no proper English- or French-speaking department doesn't worry our national leadership. After all, tourists aren't going to vote in the next elections. The free dissemination of information and entertainment is being held up until the cabinet makes up its mind how best to serve its own interests. The public be damned.

This, however, would have been only a minor matter but for its deeper implications. The Israeli leadership — and that includes most of the top members of all the political parties — has little

patience for, or understanding of, the needs of the average citizen. They address the people of Israel, but they have no contact with them. They speak to them but they are almost ignorant of their basic needs.

They firmly believe that elections once in four years and the formation of a coalition gives their regime all the attributes of an orderly, democratic government, and that once elected, they have every right to do as they please. They are assisted in this by our religious establishment, which disregards the fact that the vast majority of Israelis is hardly interested in liturgical, "traditional" entertainment.

The kibbutzim which established their own cable TV network, and thus brought a ray of light into the cultural life, the citizens of Haifa, Netanya, or Eilat who wanted some pleasure, are thus subjected to the whims of bureaucratic administration jealous of its power and its prerogatives. What Israel ought to have, and could have had many years ago, would be not two but like Hong Kong, four principal and three secondary colour TV channels and a well-organized cable TV network.

I only wonder how much of my TV licence fee, including all the penalties in late payment, ought to be shared by Jordan for their contribution to our cultural development.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post staff.

READERS' LETTERS

GAS HEATER DANGERS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Our family recently had a near-tragic accident with our gas heater. We were fortunate that help arrived promptly and we were genuinely moved by the care and concern shown by so many people, professional and otherwise.

The news coverage was far from accurate, so there are several specific points which we feel would benefit others. Contrary to the reports, there was no smell of gas in the house, no gas leak, and certainly no smoke. Two windows were open, both near the heater, but even they did not provide the security which most of us have been led to expect.

Apparently, the mishap was caused by asphyxiation due to carbon dioxide which leaked slowly from the heater's broken tiles. These same tiles were broken two

years ago, but neither the media nor replies to our inquiries on replacement parts indicated any danger in the situation.

The location of the heater — at the entrance to a narrow hallway — was also considered a contributing factor. It seems that, by virtually dividing the apartment in two, the normal flow of oxygen was disrupted. The children's rooms were isolated from the open windows, and the children were affected more seriously.

Undoubtedly, many other people are as ignorant of these considerations as we were, and we hope that our lessons will prove useful for them as well.

SHIRAH AND YISRAEL PICKHOLTZ
Arad.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In his letter of December 28, Dr. Manfred Lehmann remembers the 20th Zionist congress and writes that Professor Chaim Weizmann was aloof. That is utter nonsense. Professor Weizmann could become aloof, if driven to it by extremely dull and pestering bores, but otherwise he was urbane and liked nothing better than to

"mingle with the delegates." I have at least 10 photographs of Weizmann which I took at that particular congress, in which he is shown "mingling with the delegates" and having a good time on occasion, telling or listening to anecdotes.

DR. NACHUM T. GIDAL
Jerusalem.

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